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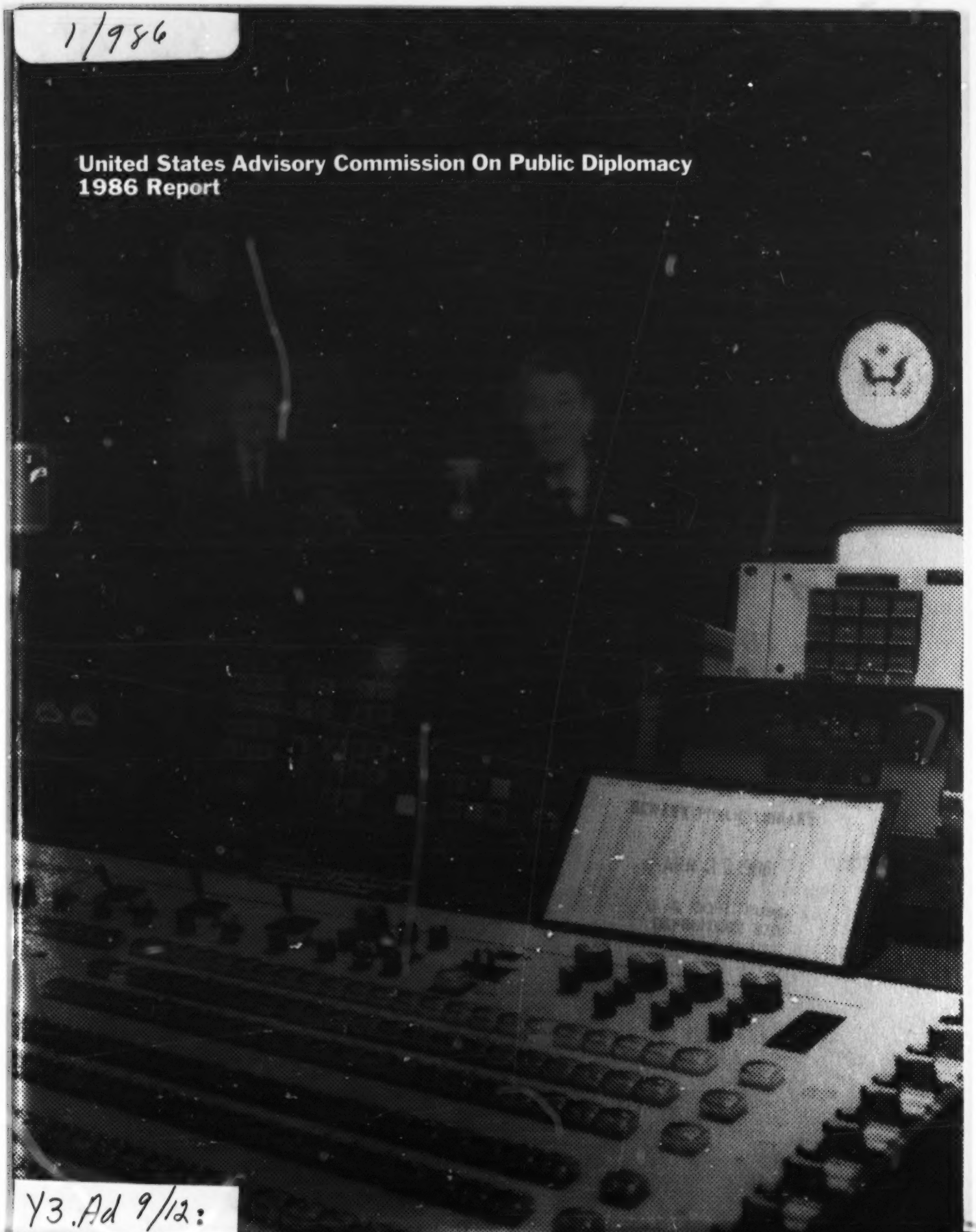
United States Advisory Commission On Public Diplomacy
1986 Report



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What Is Public Diplomacy?

If the meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva was the most important diplomatic event of the past year, it was also the focus of one of the most comprehensive public diplomacy efforts ever undertaken by the U.S. Information Agency.

USIA's role before, during, and after the Geneva Summit demonstrates what public diplomacy has come to mean in the 1980s. Every major element of USIA was involved.

- President Reagan's radio address to the Soviet people from a Voice of America studio and all major speeches by senior U.S. foreign policy officials were broadcast in 42 languages to VOA's worldwide weekly audience of 119 million listeners.
- Public Affairs Officers at 214 embassies and consulates around the world briefed thousands of journalists and other opinion leaders on U.S. policies and Summit objectives.
- Official texts, transcripts, speeches, feature articles, and policy backgrounders were transmitted electronically by USIA's Wireless File to all USIA posts.
- The U.S.-Soviet exchanges agreement negotiated by USIA and signed at Geneva will expand academic, cultural and scientific exchanges, including Fulbright scholars and teachers; permit travel of performing arts groups and sports exchanges; and allow USIA to mount thematic exhibits and continue distribution of *America Illustrated* magazine.
- USIA's Office of Research prepared public opinion analyses, flash opinion surveys, assessments of Soviet propaganda, background studies, media reaction reports, briefings, and participated in an NSC pre-Summit simulation exercise.
- The Foreign Press Center in Washington arranged pre-Summit interviews with President Reagan, numerous press briefings with senior U.S. officials, and a press tour on SDI for foreign journalists and television correspondents.
- President Reagan's interview with European TV journalists and post-Summit report to Congress, transmitted via USIA's WORLDNET satellite television network, were part of the more than 18 hours of satellite television broadcasts devoted to the Summit.
- USIA's American Participant speakers program brought many U.S. officials and private experts to foreign audiences through travel and international telephone conference calls.
- In Geneva, a team of 27 USIA officers provided press support and distributed 62 separate White House transcripts, fact sheets, and official texts totalling 102,000 pages to the 3,000 journalists covering the Summit.

U.S. public diplomacy efforts were an important element in the success at Geneva. Through USIA's media and the personal contact of its communications professionals, millions received, direct and unfiltered, the U.S. agenda for the Summit and its rationale for dealing with issues of regional and bilateral concern, human rights, and arms control. The Commission commends the President, the Secretary of State, and the Director of USIA for using wisely and well the valuable instruments of public diplomacy available to them.

Public diplomacy supplements and reinforces traditional diplomacy by explaining U.S. policies to foreign publics, by providing them with information about American society and culture, by enabling many to experience the diversity of our culture personally, and by assessing foreign public opinion for American Ambassadors and foreign policy decisionmakers in the United States.

Advanced communications technology, growing audiences, and recognition by most world leaders of the value of obtaining public support for their statements and actions has given public diplomacy new importance. USIA in this decade has made an extraordinary capital investment in the future and has become a full partner in the conduct of our country's foreign relations.

To the Congress and to the President of the United States

In accordance with the requirements of Section 8, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977 and Public Law 96-60, the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy submits herewith its annual report on the U.S. Information Agency, and the activities of the U.S. Government concerning public diplomacy.

Respectfully submitted,

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A Message from the Chairman

As my colleagues and I prepared this report on the conduct of public diplomacy during the past year, we found many reasons to be encouraged. The United States is making a significant, long-overdue investment in its international information and educational exchange programs.

The U.S. Information Agency has embarked on a course marked by innovation, new vigor, and program expansion. USIA is setting the pace in international satellite television. State-of-the-art communications technologies are generating new efficiencies and expanding the reach of public diplomacy programs from radio broadcasting to English teaching. Educational and cultural exchanges are returning to mid-1960s levels following a long downward slide.

This growth is fully justified and represents a healthy corrective to two decades of erosion in USIA's budget and staff resources. The Reagan Administration, with the strong support of this Commission and with a bipartisan consensus in the Congress, is at last giving USIA the necessary means to perform its public diplomacy mission effectively. The Agency has come far; much remains to be done.

USIA will face new challenges in the days ahead. As world public opinion becomes increasingly important in international affairs—and as appreciation for USIA's capabilities grows here at home—the Agency will be asked to do more. And it will be asked to do so without the assurance of steadily increasing resources. "Gramm-Rudman-Hollings" is altering the American political landscape and will affect the resources available for public diplomacy.

Huge sums for U.S. embassy security will decrease further the resources available for program operations in all of the foreign affairs agencies—an unanticipated consequence of international terrorism. Hard choices lie ahead.

This Commission does not want to see the achievements of the recent past undone by hasty or ill-advised cutbacks. Technological modernization must continue; programs of proven value must be maintained; and USIA must be able to take advantage of new opportunities.

In the current budget climate, however, it is imperative that USIA engage in considered assessment of its programs, priorities, and long-term institutional goals. To this end, our report encourages USIA to do a better and more consistent job of program evaluation. The Agency needs to increase its media and program effectiveness studies. It must look at all of its grant recipients, traditional "core groups" and others alike, to ensure that taxpayers' dollars are being spent wisely. Within USIA, both new and established programs should be examined carefully to determine their continued relevance to the public diplomacy needs of the 1980s.

This report contains the principal findings and recommendations of the seven members of this Commission, all of whom bring to the task a wealth of experience and deep dedication to the mission of public diplomacy. We have been selective. We have looked at programs, resource needs, technological modernization, and USIA's public opinion advisory role in the foreign policy process. At the heart of public diplomacy, however, are the communications professionals who carry out the work of USIA in the United States and abroad, many at high personal risk. We hold them in high esteem. They are serving their country well.

The American people can continue to be pleased with the work that USIA and its people are doing.

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman

April 16, 1986

The Role of the Commission

Advisory Commission members meet monthly in Washington. (From left to right) Commissioners Tom C. Korologos, Priscilla L. Buckley, Richard M. Scaife, Chairman Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., Vice Chairman e. robert (bob) wallach, Commissioners Herbert Schmertz and Hershey Gold.

Since 1948, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy and its predecessors have represented the public interest by overseeing the international information, cultural and educational exchange programs of the United States.

The Commission is a permanent, bipartisan, and independent body created by Congress to recommend policies and programs in support of USIA's mission and principal activities. It is required by law to assess the work of the Agency and to report its findings and recommendations to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, the Director of USIA, and the American people.

The Commission's seven members are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. All are private citizens who represent a cross-section of professional backgrounds and who volunteer their time in the conviction that public diplomacy is indispensable to our national security and to the achievement of U.S. foreign policy objectives.

The Commission was established in 1978 as the successor to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information for USIA and the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for the former Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State.

In fulfilling the responsibilities given to it by Congress, the Commission:

- Formulates and recommends policies and programs to the President, the Secretary of State and the Director of USIA to carry out the functions vested in the Director and USIA;
- Appraises the effectiveness of USIA's policies and programs;
- Reports annually to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, and the Director of USIA on the programs and activities of USIA and their effectiveness;
- Submits other reports to the Congress as it deems appropriate and seeks to develop public understanding and support for USIA's programs; and
- Assesses the degree to which the scholarly integrity and nonpolitical character of USIA's educational and cultural exchange programs have been maintained and the attitudes of foreign scholars and governments regarding such activities.*

The Commission is an advisory body only. It is not directly involved in USIA's operations or in the management of its internal affairs.

The Commission's oversight activities are carried out in a variety of ways. It meets monthly with Director Charles Z. Wick and other senior officials in USIA. It meets periodically with members of the Agency's Congressional oversight committees and their staffs, senior foreign affairs officials in the executive branch, and public diplomacy professionals from the private sector.

Last year, the Commission met with Secretary of State George Shultz, Attorney General Edwin Meese III, CIA Director William

Casey, Admiral John M. Poindexter, Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), Senator Daniel J. Evans (R-WA), Senator Orrin G. Hatch (R-UT), Rep. Dan Mica (D-FL), Rep. Olympia Snowe (R-ME), Director of White House Communications Patrick Buchanan, White House Principal Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Bernard Kalb, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Paul Wolfowitz, Assistant Secretary of State for American Republics Affairs Elliott Abrams, Ambassador Max Kampelman, Ambassador Edward Rowny, Ambassador Mike Mansfield, Ambassador Arthur W. Hummel, Ambassador Helene von Damm-Guertler, Ambassador Bruce K. Chapman, Ambassador Robert Blackwill, Consul General Burton Levin, Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Chairman Jorge Mas, National Endowment for Democracy (NED) Board Chairman John Richardson, NED President Carl Gershman, Admiral Bobby R. Inman, Japanese Foreign Minister Shintoro Abe, Director of Exhibits for the Tsukuba (Japan) International Exposition Ittei Takeda, Chinese Vice Premier Ji Pengfei, Chinese Vice Minister of Culture Lu Zhixian, Beijing University President Ding Shisun, Fudan University President Xie Xide, East-West Center Director Victor Li, and East-West Center Board of Governors Chairman George Chaplin.

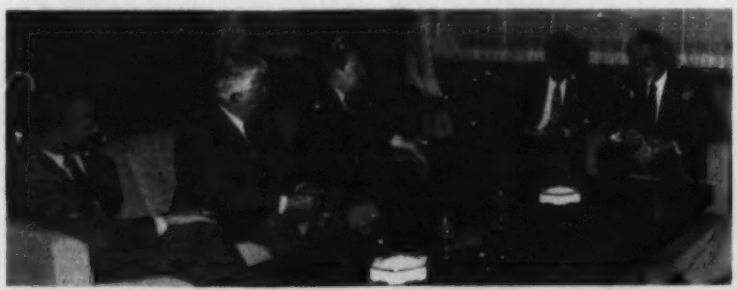
The Commission testified in budget hearings on USIA held by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In December, the Commission issued a special report, "Terrorism and Security: The Challenge for Public Diplomacy," to the President, Members of Congress, and key officials in the foreign policy community.

During the year, members of the Commission visited 26 posts. The purpose of these visits is to provide the Commission's deliberations and judgment with a firsthand understanding of the work of public diplomacy. Commission members meet with American Ambassadors, USIA's American and foreign national staffs, and opinion leaders from the host country. The Commission derives useful comparative insights from its meetings with foreign officials and other post contacts engaged in information and cultural activities. Last year's meetings in China and Japan with foreign ministry officials and Asian journalists, for example, provided a valuable context in which to view U.S. public diplomacy activities.

Finally, because of the inadequacy of U.S. Government representational funds, the Commission seeks to extend the reach of the posts it visits through privately hosted luncheons and dinners. These events, which include journalists, government officials, business leaders, scholars, and cultural figures, provide a program opportunity for the post and a better understanding of the work of USIA for the Commission.

This report sets forth the Commission's principal findings and recommendations developed during the past year. They are offered in the hope that both the Congress and those charged with the conduct of public diplomacy will benefit from them. As private citizens, we believe that oversight and evaluation can contribute to the improvement of our nation's public diplomacy and to a better understanding of its importance by the American people.

*Section 8, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977.



Advisory Commission members discuss U.S. public diplomacy programs with Japanese Foreign Minister Shintoro Abe in Tokyo. (From left to right) Vice Chairman e. robert (bob) wallach, Commissioner Tom C. Korologos, Chairman Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., interpreter, and Foreign Minister Abe.

Summary of Findings and Recommendations

USIA arranges facilities for American and foreign journalists during overseas travel by the President and other U.S. officials.

Building from Geneva

■ The Commission finds that in addition to President Reagan's skillful public diplomacy at the Geneva Summit, USIA's efforts were an important element in its success.

■ The Commission recommends that a coordinated and comprehensive public diplomacy strategy be developed at the highest levels in the National Security Council, the Department of State, the White House Press Office and the U.S. Information Agency for the 1986 visit of General Secretary Gorbachev to the United States and the 1987 visit of President Reagan to the Soviet Union.

■ The Commission recommends the President appoint an experienced senior adviser to coordinate domestic public affairs and foreign public diplomacy decisions relating to the forthcoming meetings between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

Public Diplomacy and Terrorism

■ The Commission recommends that USIA move quickly to develop and carry out an intensive public diplomacy program in support of United States anti-terrorism policies.

Policy Formulation

■ The Commission welcomes increased USIA involvement in interagency policy deliberations, but finds that USIA is still not asked to advise routinely on the public diplomacy impact of *proposed* policy options and *new* policies as they are being developed.

■ The Commission recommends that the National Security Council and the State Department mandate public diplomacy impact assessments for all major foreign policy decisions.

■ The Commission recommends that senior USIA officers be assigned to regular tours of duty at the White House to provide staff support and a public diplomacy perspective to the National Security Council and the Office of the Press Secretary.

Research

■ The Commission recommends that USIA's Office of Research be made an independent element reporting directly to the Agency's Director.

■ The Commission welcomes the implementation of its past recommendations that USIA enhance the capability of its Office of Research to conduct attitudinal surveys and provide assessments of foreign public opinion to the foreign affairs community. Funds for opinion research are now commensurate with the level of professional staff available to use them, and it is unlikely that further increases could be utilized effectively.

■ The Commission finds that USIA has increased its media and program evaluation studies, but many Agency managers continue to ignore or misunderstand their potential as managerial tools for program direction and achieving cost savings. The Commission recommends that USIA expand its use of the Office of Research to assess the effectiveness of Agency programs and do more to insure the utilization of program evaluation by Agency managers.

■ The Commission repeats its recommendation that a coordinated research effort, involving all U.S. foreign affairs agencies, be organized under the direction of the National Security Council to provide the U.S. Government with timely comparative data on the cultural, information, and propaganda policies and programs of the Soviet bloc and other countries.

Television

■ The Commission reaffirms its support for the development of the WORLDNET television service as a major program arm of U.S. public diplomacy. The Commission commends USIA for its innovative use of "interactive" press conferences with foreign journalists, its negotiation of favorable financial terms for satellite time in Europe, and its efforts to install "television receive only" (TVRO) dish antennas at USIA's posts worldwide.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA as a high priority continue to pursue technical arrangements for a worldwide television broadcasting network. The expansion of regional daily broadcast services will require audience surveys, careful long-range planning, and considered assessment of appropriate programs and program policies.

■ The Commission recommends the National Security Council examine WORLDNET with a view toward clarifying its mission, long-term needs, and appropriate institutional role through the preparation of a National Security Decision Directive.

■ The Commission recommends that Congress fund a new television service (RIAS-TV) to be added to Radio in the American Sector in West Berlin for broadcasts to the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Voice of America

■ The Commission finds that VOA is not moving as rapidly as national needs require in meeting the goals of its multi-year modernization program.

■ The Commission finds that VOA continues to be surpassed by other major international radio broadcasters in facilities, equipment, personnel, signal strength, and broadcast hours. It welcomes Congressional willingness to provide adequate funding for modernization.

■ The Commission finds that OMB's $1.3 billion cap on VOA's multi-year modernization plan will inhibit VOA's ability to meet the goals developed in response to the policy direction of the President and the National Security Council. The Commission recommends that OMB, USIA, and the NSC review VOA's modernization budget in light of recent detailed planning, current price estimates, increased physical security costs, the terms of negotiated site agreements, and overall broadcast requirements.

■ The Commission is disturbed by the large turnover of VOA Directors and finds that prolonged senior level vacancies and lack of continuity have adversely affected the implementation of modernization initiatives and the management of ongoing VOA programs.

■ The Commission finds that increased resources and significant U.S. private sector participation are needed to nourish VOA's increasingly effective training program for Third World radio broadcasters.

■ The Commission commends USIA for resuming daily VOA broadcasts to Western Europe, for the quality of VOA Europe's audience research design, and for its innovative use of AM, FM, satellite, and cable delivery systems. USIA should evaluate VOA Europe carefully to determine whether it is reaching significant audiences with effective programming. Addition of German, French, Italian, and Spanish language broadcasts should be based on a thorough assessment of research findings.

■ The Commission commends USIA for getting VOA's Radio Marti program on the air and encourages the Agency to undertake thorough evaluation of this important new service.

This VOA master control complex was built in 1954. In August 1986, a new solid-state computer-assisted master control system will begin operations.

Exhibits

■ The Commission welcomes the resumption of traveling U.S. thematic exhibits accompanied by language-qualified American guides to cities throughout the Soviet Union.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA fulfill its commitment to provide a United States presence at Vancouver Expo '86 and Brisbane Expo '88. Before the U.S. commits to additional events sanctioned by the Bureau of International Expositions, however, USIA should chair an interagency study of the political, commercial, and public diplomacy value of international expositions, their cost-effectiveness, and appropriate levels of U.S. Government and private sector participation in them. USIA also should reassess its own capability as presently organized to provide high quality U.S. pavilions and exhibits.

The American Cultural Center in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Exchanges and International Visitors

■ The Commission urges USIA, the Department of State, and the relevant private sector organizations to move quickly to develop specific programs for U.S.-Soviet exchanges pursuant to the General Exchanges accord, other exchange initiatives undertaken at the Geneva Summit, and the agreement by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev to review these programs at their next meeting.

■ The Commission welcomes the Central American Program on Undergraduate Studies (CAMPUS), but finds Congressional limitation to a one-time pilot group of 154 students falls far short of the Kissinger Commission's recommendation. The Commission recommends the program be expanded.

■ The Commission supports funding for enrichment programs to provide more than 340,000 foreign students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities with a broader understanding of the United States.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA's Office of Research undertake evaluations of U.S. Government-funded exchange and international visitor programs.

Cultural Diplomacy

■ The Commission finds that funding for USIA's arts and cultural presentation programs has not kept pace with national needs and is far less than what is being spent by America's allies or the Soviet Union. USIA should examine its overall budget with a view toward ensuring greater balance between its educational exchange and cultural presentation programs.

Book Programs

■ The Commission finds the United States is still not competitive in international book and library activities despite recent funding increases for USIA's book programs.

■ The Commission endorses the major findings of the Task Force on U.S. Books Abroad and recommends that USIA and the National Security Council move quickly to implement them.

East-West Center

■ The Commission welcomes recent improvements in the management and program relevance of the East-West Center and encourages USIA's Public Affairs Officers to make greater use of this valuable resource. The Commission recommends the East-West Center give increased attention to narcotics issues.

Security and Public Diplomacy

■ The Commission recommends that legislation on diplomatic security fully take into account USIA's public diplomacy mission, the need for relatively free public access to USIA's libraries and information centers, and the desirability that USIA give visible evidence of the free and open society it represents.

■ The Commission recommends that legislation require the Department of State to consult with USIA on security policies and programs, funding levels, and security standards. USIA should have authority and separately identified

USIA's American Studies Research Center in Hyderabad, India, serves 2,500 scholars and some 55 Indian universities.

funds to furnish logistical security support to its overseas installations and to perform its own security inspections.

■ The Commission believes USIA should move quickly to adopt all reasonable security measures without jeopardizing its mission. Security decisions affecting USIA should be made on a flexible, case-by-case basis in full recognition of differences in local threat levels. These decisions should be based on Country Team assessments and lead to the least possible isolation of USIA from its audiences.

■ The Commission recommends that physical security policies apply equally to U.S. and foreign national employees at their place of work.

USIA Officer Assignments

■ The Commission finds continued under-representation of senior USIA officers in Ambassadorial and Deputy Chief of Mission positions and recommends that the President and the Secretary of State correct this imbalance.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA officers be given equal consideration with their State Department colleagues for Chargé and *acting* DCM positions.

■ The Commission recommends that the Department of State increase the variety of Washington assignments given to USIA officers.

■ The Commission recommends that a USIA officer serve as the senior public diplomacy advisor to the Secretary of State.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA officers be assigned routinely to regional and other policy positions on the staff of the National Security Council.

Training

■ The Commission recommends that USIA and the Department of State move with greater urgency to institute a systematic program of media and advocacy skills training for Ambassadors, Deputy Chiefs of Mission, and USIA officers.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA officers receive more training on narcotics issues, and the impact of production, trafficking, and consumption on producing and consuming nations.

Representation

■ The Commission reaffirms its finding that personal contact with foreign opinion leaders is one of the most important functions of public diplomacy and urges that USIA's representation funds be made comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies.

Utilization of Personnel

■ The Commission finds that new communications technologies and program expansion continue to make extensive demands on the staff resources of USIA's overseas posts. Adjustments in personnel levels that may be required by federal budget reductions should not be made in the Agency's field operations.

Congressional Grant Controls

■ The Commission recommends termination of the requirement that Congress be notifed 15 days before USIA may award proposed program grants.

Telecommunications Planning

■ The Commission recommends that USIA establish a central planning body within the Agency to coordinate policy, technical, and resource decisions relating to its information and telecommunications systems.

Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

The Value of Public Diplomacy

"The improvements in USIA in this Administration . . . make up a list of admirable accomplishments, all of which have aimed at one thing — enhancing the Agency's ability to do its job. And make no mistake about it, that job is vital to the cause of truth throughout the world."

President Ronald Reagan

International events are increasingly played out, and their outcomes shaped, in the arena of world public opinion. In the last year, for example:

- President Reagan went on the Voice of America to explain U.S. goals at the Geneva Summit to the Soviet people.
- General Secretary Gorbachev's views before the Summit were carried at length in a *Time* magazine interview.
- Contending candidates in the Philippine national election spent practically as much time on U.S. television as their own.
- Libya's Mu'ammar Qadhafi spoke directly to the American people for 20 minutes on the MacNeil-Lehrer news hour.
- Soviet spokesman Vladimir Posner was interviewed live on ABC Television News immediately following President Reagan's February speech to the nation on defense spending.
- The views of South Africa Government officials on violence in that country were brought to American dinner tables nightly on network television news.

Public diplomacy is part of a worldwide transformation in the conduct of international affairs. Traditional secret government-to-government communications have become less important as world leaders compete directly for the support of citizens in other countries. It is happening in democracies, where people vote, and there is hardly a police state left that can ignore foreign public opinion.

Put simply, instant global communications are breaking down rigidities and isolation, and public opinion is increasingly influential in shaping foreign policy.

U.S. representatives overseas have a new and critical role to fill as public diplomats. In a sense, the United States is waging a political campaign for its views. Every day is an election day around the world, and our Ambassadors should think of themselves as being engaged in a battle for votes.

The United States has powerful ideas on its side. Indeed, American ideas are the most truly revolutionary the world has known. They include individual rights, the democratic way of life, the effectiveness of the free market system, and the power of truth in a free and open society.

But no message, however persuasive, can be effective without an audience predisposed to receive it. And here the United States begins to lose some of its advantage. In Western Europe, for example, many voters have no direct recollection of World War II, when America was a major force in rescuing Europe from Nazism and in contributing to its postwar economic reconstruction. In the developing world, deep cultural differences may make the American message difficult to translate. In both Europe and the Third World, economic differences may further widen the gap and reduce sympathy for the United States.

The challenge, then, is to use our skill as communicators and advanced technology to make the most of our advantages in the global campaign ahead.

The campaign need not be loud; nor should it be shrill and manipulative. But more effective use can be made of television and radio, particularly when direct messages to mass audiences are reinforced by the personal contact of public diplomats abroad. Inaccurate information can be corrected. Information about the U.S. and its policies can be presented to foreign opinion leaders in subtle, persuasive, and imaginative ways. And those opinion leaders can be invited to come to the United States to see for themselves.

It is prudent to recognize the appropriate limits of public diplomacy, but we have not yet — as a government or as a society — come to appreciate its full potential.

Building from Geneva

■ **The Commission finds that in addition to President Reagan's skillful public diplomacy at the Geneva Summit, USIA's efforts were an important element in its success.**

■ **The Commission recommends that a coordinated and comprehensive public diplomacy strategy be developed at the highest levels in the National Security Council, the Department of State, the White House Press Office and the U.S. Information Agency for the 1986 visit of General Secretary Gorbachev to the United States and the 1987 visit of President Reagan to the Soviet Union.**

■ **The Commission recommends the President appoint an experienced senior adviser to coordinate domestic public affairs and foreign public diplomacy decisions relating to the forthcoming meetings between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.**

The Geneva Summit was as much a public diplomacy event as it was a bilateral encounter between two governments. No summit has been so extensively covered by the press, nor have the leaders and governments of both nations been so solicitous of the media — and world public opinion — in shaping their agendas, proposals, and styles of presentation. U.S. public diplomacy efforts proved successful in articulating national objectives and in achieving accurate media coverage of them. Much of the credit must go to the President himself. Much too must go to USIA.

In many ways the next Summit will be more difficult. Continued single-minded Soviet opposition to the Strategic Defense Initiative, coupled with skillful distortions of SDI as an offensive space weapons program, make substantive progress difficult. Soviet propaganda tactics and accessibility to U.S. media will test our abilities to anticipate and respond. And while the environment in Geneva limited peripheral news events that could adversely affect U.S. interests, many groups and individuals will seek to exploit the Soviet leader's presence in this country to advance their own causes.

It is essential that the United States move quickly to develop a public diplomacy strategy at the highest levels in the National Security Council, the Department of State, the White House Press Office, and the U.S. Information Agency for the 1986 visit of General Secretary Gorbachev to the United States and the 1987 visit of President Reagan to the Soviet Union. It is equally important that USIA be involved fully in this planning process.

Key elements in developing such a strategy should include early guidance on Summit policies and objectives, early decisions on how public aspects of the meetings will be approached, close contact between policy-makers and the public diplomacy community, continuity between the meetings of Summit-related planning groups, continuing outreach to the foreign media, and a well-conceived plan for a series of public appearances by senior U.S. officials, taking into consideration both their substantive and symbolic aspects.

To help achieve these objectives, the Commission recommends the President appoint an experienced senior advisor to coordinate *domestic public affairs* and *foreign public diplomacy* decisions relating to the forthcoming meetings between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. This appointment should be made quickly. Former Ambassador to Ireland Peter H. Dailey's role as White House coordinator for public diplomacy efforts to develop European support for the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles should serve as a model.

The Commission also recommends that the National Security Council and the Department of State include senior USIA officers more fully in the Summit planning process. We are pleased the Agency's European Public Affairs Officers were brought to London in March for a Summit public diplomacy planning conference with Washington policy-makers. But to date, the NSC has not moved quickly enough to take full advantage of USIA's officers in Washington. Senior Agency officers should be included in all NSC and interagency policy planning groups dealing with Summit issues. Senior USIA officers also should be detailed to the NSC and the Office of the Press Secretary to provide a public diplomacy perspective in Summit planning.

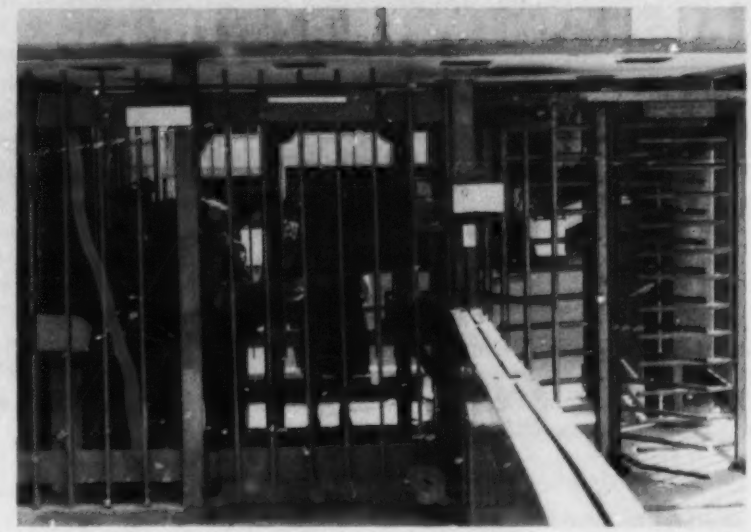
Public Diplomacy and Terrorism

■ **The Commission recommends that USIA move quickly to develop and carry out an intensive public diplomacy program in support of United States anti-terrorism policies.**

The Commission strongly believes public diplomacy should play a much greater role in U.S. efforts to deal with international terrorism. The assassination of Prime Minister Olof Palme in Sweden was a graphic reminder that no nation is immune from acts of violence. Economic sanctions, traditional industrial security techniques, and bilateral and multilateral political responses to terrorism are not enough. They must be supplemented by aggressive public pressure on our European allies and others to take their anti-terrorist responsibilities seriously.

Foreign publics in Western Europe and elsewhere are ahead of their governments. Loss of tourist revenues, particularly from the United States, increased security costs, fears of investors, and natural human revulsion at every new terrorist horror displayed on television and the front pages of newspapers are leading citizens to express anger at the inadequate responses of their governments — and to demand firmer action by them.

The United States must make greater use of its public diplomacy resources to provide foreign publics and their governments with persuasive, comprehensive evidence of the costs of tolerating terrorism, of who is carrying out terrorist acts, and with whose assistance. The Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism and National Security Decision Directive 207 have charged a special interagency counterterrorism committee with developing a comprehensive public affairs strategy to combat terrorism. USIA heads the effort dealing with overseas public diplomacy, and a strategy document is scheduled for completion by May 1986. We urge the Agency to move quickly to implement this directive and to carry out an intensive public diplomacy program in support of United States anti-terrorism policies.



Access controls at the American Embassy in Bogota, Colombia, are part of a worldwide program to enhance security for U.S. facilities and personnel.

Policy Formulation

■ **The Commission welcomes increased USIA involvement in interagency policy deliberations, but finds that USIA is still not asked to advise routinely on the public diplomacy impact of *proposed* policy options and *new* policies as they are being developed.**

■ **The Commission recommends that the National Security Council and the State Department mandate public diplomacy impact assessments for all major foreign policy decisions.**

■ **The Commission recommends that senior USIA officers be assigned to regular tours of duty at the White House to provide staff support and a public diplomacy perspective to the National Security Council and the Office of the Press Secretary.**

There is no doubt in the Commission's mind that the nation's leaders and the foreign policy community have come to appreciate more fully the importance of public diplomacy. But all too often this extends principally to public diplomacy programming once policy has been made — not to the Agency's value in advising on the public opinion impact of policies before they are made.

The Commission is pleased with the recent increase in USIA's participation on interagency groups covering a wide variety of issues, both at the senior policy level and at the level of program implementation. The National Security Council's International Information Committee, an interagency planning and coordinating body chaired by USIA, continues to play a constructive role in bringing public diplomacy considerations to bear during the formative stages of policy.

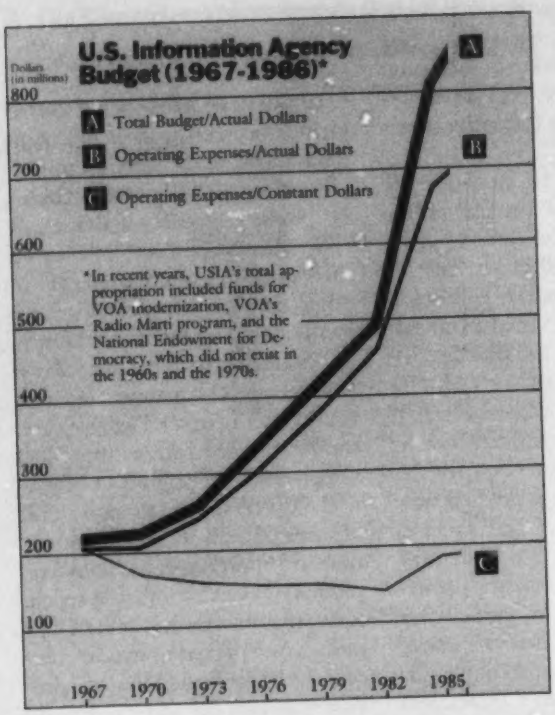
But the need to consider the public aspects of foreign policy more consistently and earlier in the policy process still exists. USIA's officers have a wealth of knowledge about foreign media and cultures, and about the attitudes of foreign opinion-makers. The Agency's public opinion research is thorough and increasingly timely. Flash telephone surveys, for example, were used for the first time during and after the Geneva Summit. This information does little good if public diplomacy professionals are not active participants at the table when policies are made.

The Commission recommends the National Security Council and the State Department mandate public diplomacy impact assessments for all major foreign policy decisions. The assessments should include both an analysis of potential foreign public reaction to policy options and recommendations for public diplomacy activities.

Senior USIA officers have served successfully through the years in other parts of the U.S. Government, including the White House, the State Department, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Department of Defense, and the Agency for International Development. The assignment of *more* USIA officers to the foreign affairs agencies would increase cooperation and appreciation of public diplomacy. The Commission specifically recommends that senior USIA officers be assigned to *regular* tours of duty at the White House to provide staff support and a public diplomacy perspective to the National Security Council and the Office of the Press Secretary.

Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III and other senior U.S. officials answer questions at a press conference organized by USIA at the 1985 OECD Ministerial Council meeting in Paris.

Resources



The Commission supports President Reagan's FY 1987 budget request for USIA of $959.2 million. The request is an increase of $104.5 million from the Agency's FY 1986 appropriation of $854.7 million.*

Dismayed by the erosion of budget and staff resources for public diplomacy during the past two decades, this Commission has consistently advocated that USIA be given the funds and people it needs to perform its essential mission well. We appreciate that President Reagan, USIA Director Charles Z. Wick, and a bipartisan consensus in the Congress together in recent years have brought USIA a long way toward this goal. USIA's growth is fully justified. Compared with the expenditures of other foreign affairs and defense agencies, it is a small but wise investment in our national security.

The term "Gramm-Rudman-Hollings" has entered the American political vocabulary, however, and USIA is not exempt from its impact. USIA will take its share of reductions, but the Commission does not wish to see the gains of recent years undone. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings should not mean trimming on modernization, cutting valuable traditional programs, or postponing new initiatives where technical opportunities and program needs warrant.

It should mean that USIA become more conscious, in the current budget climate, of the need to spend its resources wisely and well. It should mean that all Agency grant recipients—traditional "core groups" and others alike—be subject to the *same* careful scrutiny, periodic review, and program standards. And within USIA, it should mean that both new and established programs be looked at closely to determine their effectiveness and relevance to the public diplomacy needs of the 1980s.

As we point out throughout this report, USIA must do a better job of program evaluation, of establishing priorities, and of long-range planning.

Coach Peter Barry of Southern Oregon State College, a participant in USIA's Sports America program, conducts a basketball workshop for members of the Somali national team.

*USIA's FY 1986 appropriation of $854.7 million reflects Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act reductions of $37.6 million and a pending supplemental of $17.3 million for RIAS-TV and U.S.-Soviet exchanges.

Research

■ The Commission recommends that USIA's Office of Research be made an independent element reporting directly to the Agency's Director.

■ The Commission welcomes the implementation of its past recommendations that USIA enhance the capability of its Office of Research to conduct attitudinal surveys and provide assessments of foreign public opinion to the foreign affairs community. Funds for opinion research are now commensurate with the level of professional staff available to use them, and it is unlikely that further increases could be utilized effectively.

■ The Commission finds that USIA has increased its media and program evaluation studies, but many Agency managers continue to ignore or misunderstand their potential as managerial tools for program direction and achieving cost savings. The Commission recommends that USIA expand its use of the Office of Research to assess the effectiveness of Agency programs and do more to insure the utilization of program evaluation by Agency managers.

■ The Commission repeats its recommendation that a coordinated research effort, involving all U.S. foreign affairs agencies, be organized under the direction of the National Security Council to provide the U.S. Government with timely comparative data on the cultural, information, and propaganda policies and programs of the Soviet bloc and other countries.

USIA is uniquely qualified to advise the President, the National Security Council, and the Department of State on the policy making implications of foreign public opinion and attitudes toward the United States. In its advisory role, the Agency uses the reporting of its field officers and "assessments of the impact of actual and proposed United States foreign policy decisions on public opinion abroad" prepared by the Office of Research.[1]

In previous years, the Commission has recommended that funding for USIA's research programs be increased to meet national security requirements. With Congressional support, the Agency has implemented this recommendation and significantly increased its research budget. This has permitted additional opinion surveys on defense and economic issues as well as more timely analyses, including the use of "flash surveys" during the Geneva Summit. The Agency also has increased its research briefings for policy-makers.

The Commission welcomes this enhancement of USIA's research capability. Funds for attitudinal surveys are now commensurate with the level of professional staff available to use them, and it is unlikely that further increases could be utilized effectively.

Program Evaluation

Although attitudinal research commands more attention and the dominant share of USIA's research budget, the Agency has increased funds for media studies and evaluation of its products and programs. The Commission recommended increased program evaluation in recent reports and finds its rationale even more compelling at a time when the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act signals reductions in federal spending and an examination of the effectiveness of current programs.

The Commission is mindful of the difficulties in assessing program value and cost-effectiveness in public diplomacy. "No cash register rings," former USIA Director Edward R. Murrow once said, "when a man changes his mind."

There are many techniques available to public diplomacy managers, however, that permit systematic analysis of program effectiveness. Properly designed program studies can supplement intuitive judgments and provide Congress and USIA with valid reasons to modify, expand, or eliminate programs and media products.

Recent examples of effective program studies include a review of Wireless File use by USIA's principal posts, an evaluation of Tsukuba Expo '85, the research design developed for VOA Europe, an assessment of the Hubert Humphrey North-South Fellowship program, VOA's use of outside linguists for regularly-scheduled language service program reviews, and an analysis of American studies in ASEAN countries. Many of these studies were conducted by program managers themselves, and the Commission recognizes the importance of managers evaluating their own programs. We are pleased, too, that USIA's Management Bureau is asking all Public Affairs Officers to engage in a worldwide product usefulness survey, the first in more than a decade.[2] The Commission believes, however, that increased centralization of program studies in the Office of Research would be more cost-effective and contribute to disinterested evaluation and more widespread use of professional survey design skills.

Despite recent funding increases for program effectiveness studies by the Office of Research, the Commission finds that many Agency managers continue to ignore or misunderstand their potential as managerial tools for program direction and achieving cost savings. Reasons vary. Program evaluation is often seen as a threat to traditional ways of doing business. For some, the value of established programs, such as academic exchanges and International Visitors, is assumed to be self-evident. Others suggest new programs may need time to develop. Political sensitivities in some countries may preclude use of certain research techniques.

USIA's media and educational exchange programs represent substantial capital investments. New communications technologies, such as satellite television, are making their own legitimate demands on the Agency's resource base. USIA cannot continue to fund new and established programs that look good largely on the basis of intuitive judgments and anecdotal evidence. It faces hard choices. To choose wisely, it will need a greater degree of rigorous program evaluation than it has undertaken to date.

The Commission recommends that USIA increase its use of the Office of Research to assess Agency programs and do more to insure the utilization of media and program effectiveness studies by Agency managers.

Research Office Requires Independence

The Office of Research is located within USIA's Bureau of Programs, which also includes many of the Agency's program and policy guidance elements. This arrangement in principle entails certain potential conflicts of interest.

Programs carried out by the Bureau include magazines, exhibits, Amparts, Arts America, the Wireless File, and Foreign Press Centers. In the Commission's view, it is unreasonable to ask the Office of Research to carry out objective program effectiveness studies on Agency elements located in the same Bureau, reporting to the same Associate Director. There ought to be some organizational distance between program evaluators and program managers. There is also value in separating USIA's public opinion research from its policy guidance functions. And elevating the level of research within the Agency would give its reports added status and influence.

For these reasons, the Commission recommends that USIA's Office of Research be made an in-

dependent element reporting directly to the Agency's Director.

Comparative Studies

In its last report, the Commission recommended that a coordinated research effort, involving all U.S. foreign affairs agencies, be organized under the direction of the National Security Council to provide the U.S. Government with timely comparative data on the cultural, information, and propaganda policies and programs of the Soviet bloc. We suggested that the U.S. should have as full a picture of these programs as it does of Soviet bloc military, economic, and diplomatic activities. The value of such comprehensive information for establishing program priorities and long-range public diplomacy program planning would more than justify the effort.

USIA agreed with this recommendation, and the Commission is aware of Agency efforts to increase its reporting on Soviet bloc cultural and information activities. No coordinated and comprehensive interagency studies have been prepared, however, and the Commission repeats its recommendation.

[1]Executive Order 12048, March 27, 1978.

[2]USIA's Office of Inspections also maintains an extensive program of periodic post "performance evaluations" and financial audits of posts and grant recipients. In recent years, the Office has also looked at a few of the Agency's Washington elements.

Semantic Distortion

Totalitarian systems have long misused words and concepts to impose domestic political control and further ideological conflict with other belief systems. This tactic of seeking psychological advantage should be of concern to the U.S. Government, and the Commission previously has addressed the need to counteract the distortion of language by the Soviet Union to achieve political ends.

Systematic misuse of such concepts as "peace," "democracy," "terrorism," and "national liberation" confuses international political discourse and leads to misunderstanding and false equivalences. The problem is especially acute in the developing world, where political language is manipulated and legitimized through debates in such organizations as UNESCO and the Non-Aligned Movement. The United States has been less aware of the importance of semantics in conveying ideas and perceptions than its adversaries.

USIA has several modest initiatives underway. It is alerting its field officers to the seriousness of the problem and is advising them on methods of dealing with it. A collection of essays is being prepared by an independent scholar analyzing the misuse of specific terms. And the Agency is producing a videotape that will present the views of authorities on semantics and the use of language.

The Commission endorses USIA's gradual and non-polemical approach. Semantic distortion is a long-standing problem, and it will not be resolved by a quick fix. Nor will it be resolved by the activities of a single agency. USIA needs to give its own efforts a higher priority. At the same time, others in and out of government should become more sensitive to the issue.

Foreign journalists tour Ellis Island on a visit organized by USIA's New York Foreign Press Center.

Media and Programs

Television

■ The Commission reaffirms its support for the development of the WORLDNET television service as a major program arm of U.S. public diplomacy. The Commission commends USIA for its innovative use of "interactive" press conferences with foreign journalists, its negotiation of favorable financial terms for satellite time in Europe, and its efforts to install "television receive only" (TVRO) dish antennas at USIA's posts worldwide.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA as a high priority continue to pursue technical arrangements for a worldwide television broadcasting network. The expansion of regional daily broadcast services will require audience surveys, careful long-range planning, and considered assessment of appropriate programs and program policies.

■ The Commission recommends the National Security Council examine WORLDNET with a view toward clarifying its mission, long-term needs, and appropriate institutional role through the preparation of a National Security Decision Directive.

■ The Commission recommends that Congress fund a new television service (RIAS-TV) to be added to Radio in the American Sector in West Berlin for broadcasts to the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

One of the most innovative and potentially far-reaching achievements in public diplomacy today is USIA's increased use of the television medium. In November 1983, the Agency initiated its first experimental satellite television press conference. Today, USIA's one-way video, two-way audio WORLDNET interactive programs provide viewers in 75 countries with regular access to prominent American newsmakers and videoconferences on important public diplomacy themes.

WORLDNET

USIA's WORLDNET television service consists of two kinds of programming: WORLDNET "interactives" and regularly-scheduled broadcasts.

WORLDNET interactives link Washington and any U.S. location with embassies, consulates, and USIA posts overseas. Journalists and other invited guests in up to five countries question U.S. officials directly via satellite during hour-long interviews.

Most interactives have been telepress conferences designed to communicate U.S. foreign policy objectives directly to opinion leaders and important media organizations. But USIA is also beginning to tap the potential of WORLDNET interactive videoconferences on political, economic, scientific, and cultural topics.

Examples of WORLDNET interactives include:

■ An interview with Secretary of State George Shultz by journalists in five European countries prior to the Geneva Summit;

■ An interview with Attorney General Edwin Meese III on international narcotics issues by journalists in Latin American countries;

■ A one-country videoconference with U.S. historian John Hope Franklin and educators in France preparing questions on American history for the French national academic examinations;

■ A two-hour videoconference linking American and Soviet cardiologists; and

■ An interview with Under Secretary of State Michael Armacost by journalists in Asia on U.S. security concerns in the Pacific.

USIA has produced more than 170 WORLDNET interactives. From extensive discussions with Ambassadors and USIA officers during post visits, the Commission has concluded that interactives can be extraordinarily effective. An interview with a key American official on an issue important to United States interests can lead to significant prime time foreign television exposure and extensive print media coverage. Just as useful in the long run, the Commission believes, is the development of WORLDNET's interactive capability and use of low-cost satellite time to link influential Americans with a variety of foreign audiences.

Some cautionary notes are in order however. Interviews with American officials must produce genuine news to assure foreign

prime time coverage. Programs should be tailored closely to post needs rather than to who is available in Washington or a desire to fill satellite time. WORLDNET still strains the capacity of scarce post staff and budget resources. Care must be taken to avoid forcing posts to participate too frequently or to spend time inviting busy journalists to programs in which they are not interested. Some posts believe that USIA headquarters is not truly receptive to candid evaluations of WORLDNET, and the perception is widespread that there are penalties for questioning Washington's judgments. The Commission senses that this is changing as both Washington and field posts become more comfortable with WORLDNET. Program evaluation should be strongly encouraged, particularly at this important early stage in the development of international broadcast television.

WORLDNET interactives are a successful program innovation. The Commission commends USIA and Director Wick for bringing about this visionary and fundamental change in the conduct of public diplomacy.

A second kind of WORLDNET programming began in April 1985 when USIA introduced regularly-scheduled television service between the U.S. and Western Europe. The daily, two-hour broadcasts include: "America Today," a 30-minute news and features program; "Almanac," a twice-weekly interview show with prominent Americans; and regular features on Americana, science, sports, and the arts. These programs are received by U.S. embassies, cable television systems, and closed circuit television in hotels.

Journalists in Sydney question Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in Washington during a multi-country WORLDNET satellite television "interactive." (Photograph provided courtesy of News Limited, Sydney, Australia.)

This expansion of WORLDNET was made possible by the growth of international satellite capacity and USIA's negotiation of highly favorable financial terms for satellite time in Europe.

The Agency's initial contract with the French Government for WORLDNET's European service cost $1.6 million for 520 hours a year of satellite time, a 90 percent reduction from standard commercial rates. For this amount, the Agency is able to reach dish antennas at 19 USIA posts (60 more are scheduled in Europe) and other dish antennas within the "footprint" of the EUTELSAT satellite.

The long-predicted arrival of global television is at hand, and USIA is taking advantage of fortuitous developments in telecommunications technology. Other governments are pursuing similar uses of international satellite television. The Commission commends USIA for capitalizing on advantageous rates for satellite time in Europe and moving quickly to install TVRO dish antennas at its posts throughout the world.

The Commission also believes USIA was wise to experiment with a daily WORLDNET service in Europe. Although still very much in the R&D stage, with relatively small audiences, the daily service is providing the Agency with invaluable experience. It is opening doors with key communications officials in foreign governments and the television industry. USIA is investing early in a powerful and rapidly changing technology. The most significant payoffs for this aspect of public diplomacy lie in the future.

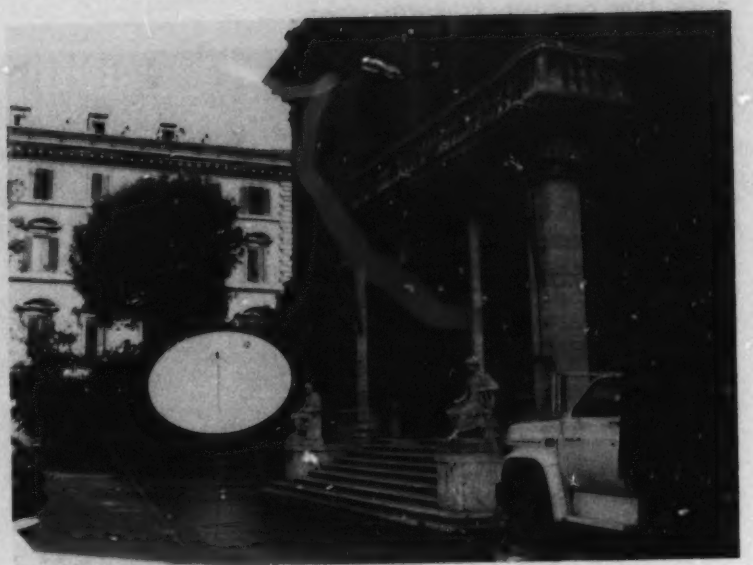
USIA should continue to experiment and explore alternative programming approaches. Some European posts have suggested, for example, that a half-hour news program produced at the end of

the day in Washington for morning broadcast would be successful, since there is little "breakfast" broadcast news in Europe. Video press releases also should be considered. For example, a major U.S. Government policy statement on terrorism or the Strategic Defense Initiative could be packaged in short (five minutes or less) video clips. The clips could then be satellite-transmitted to those posts with dish antennas, where they would be recorded; or they could be shipped for timely post use. They could be used for press placement, for showings to key host country audiences, and for archival use in the post's video library.

The overall cost for WORLDNET is not high in comparison with other public diplomacy programs. USIA's WORLDNET budget in FY 1986 is $9.6 million, approximately 1.4 percent of the Agency's enacted operating budget. The overall Television and Film Service budget for FY 1986 is $25.5 million, approximately 3.6 percent of the Agency's enacted operating budget.

WORLDNET cannot be turned on and off like a spigot. If funding is cut due to the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act or other episodic concerns, the contacts, access, and favorable arrangements with foreign governments and the television industry could be lost permanently.

Whether to commit to daily television broadcasting in language services worldwide is a major strategic decision for the United States. It involves significant budget and staff commitments far beyond current levels; judgments on alternative technological futures; and tough choices among competing programs, including possible tradeoffs with VOA modernization and the exchange programs. USIA has been quietly edging into daily television broadcasting without the rigorous analysis and long-range planning such a decision needs. In the Commission's view, it does not yet have the requisite OMB and Congressional support. The Commission encourages USIA to undertake the audience surveys, careful long-range planning, and considered assessment of appropriate programs and program policies that expansion of regional daily broadcast services will require. The National Security Council should also examine WORLDNET with a view toward clarifying its mission, long-term needs, and appropriate institutional role through the preparation of a National Security Decision Directive.



USIA's WORLDNET antenna in Rome is one of 19 operating in Europe.

Other Programs

The Television and Film Service provides a wide range of other programs.

The TV Satellite File, a weekly half-hour magazine-type program of news and features, is used by 140 foreign broadcasters in 110 countries. "Science World," a biweekly TV magazine on developments in U.S. scientific research is distributed to 94 countries. USIA also produced documentaries for worldwide distribution on the "First Ladies' Conference on Drug Abuse" and "Artificial Intelligence," as well as extensive coverage of visits to Washington of foreign heads of state. All of these programs, including TV Satellite File, are distributed on broadcast-quality videocassettes for use by foreign television stations and TV news syndicators.

USIA's Video Library program, begun as an experiment in ten posts two years ago, has now been offered to all Agency posts. A catalog

of approximately 1,000 titles permits posts to tailor selections to country interests and accommodate the growing importance of home video viewing. Some posts report increased library usage and book loans as an unexpected benefit of the Video Library program.

Private sector cooperation continues to enhance USIA's television and film acquisitions program. By the beginning of 1986, USIA had acquired the rights to more than 225 hours of film and television products for use overseas at no cost to the Agency. The programs include the 60-part "Portrait of America" series, the Philip Morris collection of cultural and sports programs, and ASCAP tributes to Ira Gershwin and Howard Dietz.

The television co-production program, one of the Agency's most effective, provides assistance to foreign TV producers in the United States. By arranging their video coverage of press briefings, hard-to-get interviews with key U.S. officials, and meetings with other prominent Americans, the Television Service generates good will, prime time coverage, and programs on foreign television stations that may be reluctant to use Agency-produced programs.

USIA is still exploring how best to use the versatile and powerful television medium. It is important to experiment, to be tolerant of occasional failure, and to continue to work toward the establishment of a worldwide system of direct television links to American embassies and USIA posts. USIA has made considerable progress, and we commend the Agency's television professionals for their achievements.

RIAS Television

RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) has been the primary U.S. and West German media link with East Germany for the past 30 years. Directed and partly funded by USIA and operated by a West German staff, RIAS broadcasts news, commentary on international events, and information on developments within East Germany.

USIA and West German officials are now proposing to supplement RIAS radio with RIAS television. Current plans call for a one-time U.S. capital investment of $12 million for a new building and technical equipment with recurring annual expenditures of about $5 million for transmission costs. West Germany would commit to paying approximately $20 million annually for salaries and other operating expenses.

RIAS-TV would transmit from West Berlin. Its signal would carry about 25 miles and reach an estimated 5 million people, including 2 million in West Berlin and 3 million in East Berlin and surrounding population centers of East Germany. Larger West German audiences can be reached if the signal is transmitted on cable systems. RIAS-TV's programs and editorial policies would be similar to those of RIAS radio.

The Commission finds the justification for RIAS-TV convincing. It would provide balanced, accurate news and an American perspective to younger audiences that increasingly are turning to television in countries that are important to U.S. interests. Although West German television is seen by a majority of East Germans, the programs are produced for West German audiences. They often do not report on developments in East Germany and frequently are slanted against U.S. policies. RIAS-TV would produce programs primarily for East German audiences.

The Commission recommends that Congress fund RIAS-TV as an unequivocal signal of U.S. commitment to the vitality of Berlin, to the free flow of ideas in Central Europe, and to the aspirations of the East German people.

Nepalese patrons view videotapes at USIA's library in Kathmandu.

Voice of America

■ The Commission finds that VOA is not moving as rapidly as national needs require in meeting the goals of its multi-year modernization program.

■ The Commission finds that VOA continues to be surpassed by other major international radio broadcasters in facilities, equipment, personnel, signal strength, and broadcast hours. It welcomes Congressional willingness to provide adequate funding for modernization.

■ The Commission finds that OMB's $1.3 billion cap on VOA's multi-year modernization plan will inhibit VOA's ability to meet the goals developed in response to the policy direction of the President and the National Security Council. The Commission recommends that OMB, USIA, and the NSC review VOA's modernization budget in light of recent detailed planning, current price estimates, increased physical security costs, the terms of negotiated site agreements, and overall broadcast requirements.

■ The Commission is disturbed by the large turnover of VOA Directors and finds that prolonged senior level vacancies and lack of continuity have adversely affected the implementation of modernization initiatives and the management of ongoing VOA programs.

■ The Commission finds that increased resources and significant U.S. private sector participation are needed to nourish VOA's increasingly effective training program for Third World radio broadcasters.

■ The Commission commends USIA for resuming daily VOA broadcasts to Western Europe, for the quality of VOA Europe's audience research design, and for its innovative use of AM, FM, satellite, and cable delivery systems. USIA should evaluate VOA Europe carefully to determine whether it is reaching significant audiences with effective programming. Addition of German, French, Italian, and Spanish language broadcasts should be based on a thorough assessment of research findings.

■ The Commission commends USIA for getting VOA's Radio Marti program on the air and encourages the Agency to undertake thorough evaluation of this important new service.

The Voice of America is one of the most important instruments of U.S. public diplomacy. Broadcasting in 42 languages, it reaches a weekly worldwide radio audience of 119 million with news, unfiltered explanations of U.S. policies, and balanced programs on American thought and culture. For many listeners, it is their only source of accurate news and information.

VOA is undergoing a much needed renaissance. As it enters its 45th year, VOA broadcasts more programs each week than at any time since World War II. It also has embarked on an effort to expand and upgrade its technical facilities to modern electronic standards.

The Commission is pleased with the creativity and quality of VOA's recent program enhancements. We remain concerned, however, that VOA is not moving as rapidly as national needs require in meeting the goals of its multi-year modernization program.

Modernization

The case for VOA modernization bears repeating. More than 80 percent of VOA's transmitters are at least 15 years old. More than 35 percent were manufactured before 1955. VOA still has only six operating 500 KW superpower transmitters (actually they are combinations of aging 250 KWs) compared to 37 used by the Soviet Union. France has 11, West Germany 9, and Great Britain 8. In broadcasting hours to Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and East Asia, VOA ranks no higher than fourth in comparison with other major international radio broadcasters.

President Reagan speaks to the Soviet people before the Geneva Summit from VOA's studios in Washington. The address was translated into 42 languages by VOA for worldwide broadcast and carried on USIA's WORLDNET satellite television network.

President Reagan announced plans for VOA modernization in 1982:

"We intend to move forward consistent with budgetary requirements with a program to modernize our primary means of international communication, our international radio system . . . the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty have been neglected for many years. Their equipment is old and deteriorating, their program resources strained. Little has been done to counter the jamming that has intensified in recent years."[1]

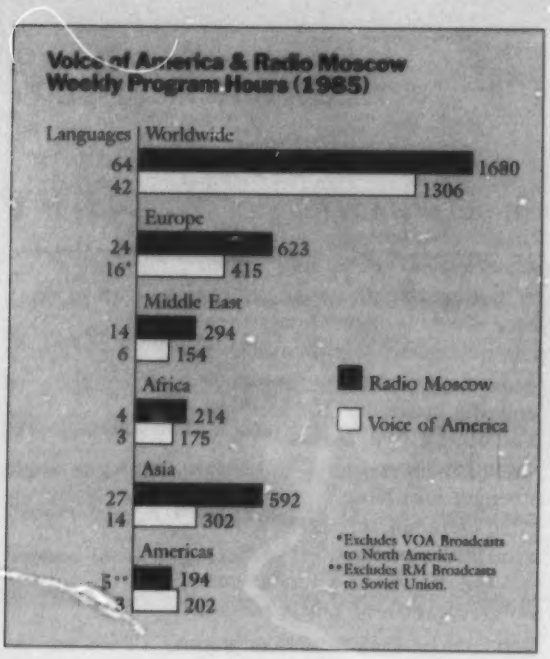
Four years later, in response to directives from the National Security Council and with the strong support of Congress, VOA has made progress. Negotiated agreements have been reached for new facilities in Sri Lanka, Morocco, Thailand, Botswana, Belize, and with Radio Antilles. Negotiations are nearing completion with St. Vincent, Israel, and Puerto Rico. A medium wave station in Costa Rica has been added to the VOA network, and a medium wave station in Belize is scheduled to begin broadcasting in the spring of 1986. The Commission had the opportunity to view the first of four prototype 500 KW transmitters being installed for testing at the Murrow Relay Station in Greenville, North Carolina. VOA has augmented its engineering staff and undertaken a number of "front-end" engineering studies.

Yet the Commission is deeply troubled that VOA continues to be surpassed by other major international broadcasters in facilities, equipment, personnel, signal strength, and broadcast hours. In our report last year we expressed concern that USIA is not moving quickly enough into the construction and implementation phase of the modernization process. A year later, that concern remains.

The modernization program has been handicapped by lack of continuity in leadership at the Voice of America. VOA has had four Directors, four Acting Directors, two Chief Engineers, and two Acting Chief Engineers since 1981. For almost half this period, VOA has been led by Acting Directors. The Commission recognizes this is due to a variety of circumstances. Nevertheless, prolonged senior level vacancies and disruptions caused by frequent turnovers at the top have adversely affected implementation of modernization initiatives and management continuity for ongoing programs. The Commission also believes that when these vacancies occur out of necessity, stronger leadership should be exerted in finding replacements in an expeditious manner.

VOA also faces a fundamental budget question. OMB has imposed a $1.3 billion cap on VOA's multi-year modernization program. This will inhibit VOA's ability to meet the goals developed in response to the policy directives of the President and the National Security Council with the support of the Congress. It would be unfortunate if VOA were forced to make major long-range decisions now, based on assumptions of a funding shortfall in coming years, that would limit the Agency's ability to carry out the full modernization program under existing timetables.

VOYAGER, VOA's broadcast van and traveling studio, visited 30 states last year adding a new dimension to VOA's reporting on people and events in American life.



The Commission has observed strong bipartisan support in the Congress for VOA modernization. A national consensus exists to get on with a task that will take years under the best of circumstances. The Commission recommends that OMB, USIA and the National Security Council review VOA's modernization budget in light of recent detailed planning, current price estimates, increased physical security costs, the terms of negotiated site agreements, and overall broadcast coverage requirements.

VOA is facing increasing competition for audiences from television and high-powered regional and international radio broadcasters, who are challenging it with stronger signals, improved production techniques, and more attractive programming. VOA must spend its modernization resources wisely, but it must also modernize more rapidly if it is to hold its listeners and attract new ones in this competitive communications environment.

Program Enhancements

VOA continues to make improvements in program quality and delivery.

During the past year VOA's broadcasts increased from 987 to 1327 hours weekly, largely from the introduction of two major new services, VOA Europe and the Radio Marti program. Broadcasts expanded in eight other services: Albanian, Arabic, French, Czech/Slovak, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Thai.[2]

The increases include a one-hour early morning show to the Central USSR, an hour-long evening program to Czechoslovakia, and additional half-hour shows in the Thai and Albanian services. For Latin America, VOA has added an hour to its evening show, "Buenas Noches, America," a half-hour midday news show, and a half-hour to its morning show, "Buenos Dias, America."

A new computerized system called SNAP (System for News and Programming) will significantly reduce the time it takes to write and translate in VOA's 42 languages, including Russian, Arabic, and Chinese.

"Sound On Demand," VOA's electronic audio distribution system, also began operation. The system delivers news actualities instantly to all of VOA's writers and greatly increases the amount of live, on-the-scene reportage in VOA's broadcasts.

These developments, new and renovated recording studios, and replacement of vacuum-tube equipment in the Washington Master Control center constitute VOA's "indoor modernization." Less heralded than other aspects of modernization, they nevertheless add up to a significant change for the better in VOA's daily operations.

The Commission is especially pleased that VOA continues to give audience research and program quality control a high priority. VOA's use of USIA's Office of Research for audience studies is extensive and should serve as a model for other Agency media elements. Increased research coordination between VOA, the BBC, and the Board for International Broadcasting minimizes duplication of effort and expands the research findings available to each. VOA's enacted operating budget in FY 1986 is $176.9 million, approximately 26 percent of USIA's overall operating budget and the largest single media budget in the Agency. In an era of reduced federal spending, it is important that VOA continue to emphasize program evaluation.

Finally, VOA's Forum Lectures bring distinguished guest speakers from in and out of government to USIA. Many are interviewed on VOA's broadcasts. The series stimulates new ideas and fresh thinking. It is precisely what the Commission had in mind last year when it recommended that USIA's top management encourage responsible internal discussion of professional issues.

Training for Third World Broadcasters

Last year the Commission endorsed VOA's fledgling training program for broadcast profession-

als from Third World countries. We are pleased the program has grown, with five workshops planned this year at VOA headquarters and six overseas in South Asia, the Caribbean, East Africa, Southern Africa, and the Philippines. Each will last several weeks and will reach up to 50 broadcasters.

Traditionally, USIA has not been a "training" organization such as AID or the Peace Corps. USIA needs to strengthen the resources it allocates to its own training programs. The BBC and other European broadcasters have long conducted excellent training programs for journalists in the developing world, and have established standards and groups of alumni that are enviable.

USIA also should cooperate more closely with AID. As Rep. Dante Fascell (D-FL) wrote recently, "USIA could usefully complement a number of AID's development activities by helping to train journalists, communications technicians, and engineers, teachers, and the like. By permitting each agency to undertake the activities to which it is best suited, the missions of public diplomacy and development, as well as the foreign policy goals of the United States, would be strengthened."[3]

Unlike the BBC and Deutsche Welle, VOA has no domestic network on which to draw in providing this kind of training. To relate fully to the domestic broadcasting background of most foreign radio professionals, VOA needs to supplement its international broadcasting experience by tapping the expertise of the American private sector. The Commission encourages VOA to continue to develop links with U.S. radio stations, networks, foundations, and universities for this purpose.

VOA Europe

On October 15, 1985, the Voice of America resumed targetted English language broadcasting to Western Europe for the first time in 25 years. Broadcasting around-the-clock, seven days a week in English, VOA is seeking to reach younger Europeans who have no personal memory of World War II and who may have misconceptions about the U.S., its policies, and the shared values of the past.

VOA Europe is the result of long-term planning and bipartisan support in the Congress. Extensive multi-country audience research studies, recommended by this Commission four years ago, have

Advisory Commission members look at a newly installed 500 KW shortwave transmitter being tested at VOA's Edward R. Murrow relay station in Greenville, North Carolina. (From left to right) Chairman Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. and Commissioners Priscilla L. Buckley, Hershey Gold, and Tom C. Korologos. (Photo by Tommy Forrest)

VOA's American Republics division uses "Code-a-Phone" to provide short, updated reports in English and Spanish on breaking news stories to local radio stations throughout Latin America. The stations call VOA by telephone and place the reports on their own news programs.

guided decisions on programming and delivery of the VOA signal in the highly competitive European radio environment.

Its program format resembles a "full service" U.S. commercial radio station with contemporary American and European hit music, hourly news broadcasts, VOA editorials, public affairs programs, and Americana segments. The broadcasts originate in Washington and are sent by satellite to Munich for relay throughout Europe via leased AM and FM frequencies and cable systems. Programs are carried by the European Communications Satellite (ECS) and recently on medium wave from VOA transmitters in Munich.

VOA's Radio Marti program is fed by satellite from Washington to this relay station in Marathon Key, Florida for broadcast to Cuba on a 50 KW medium wave transmitter.

The Commission commends USIA for initiating VOA Europe, for the quality of its audience research design, and for its innovative use of AM, FM, satellite, and cable delivery systems. USIA should evaluate VOA Europe carefully, however, to determine whether it is reaching significant audiences with effective programming. Addition of German, French, Italian, and Spanish language broadcasts should be based on a thorough assessment of research findings.

Radio Marti Program

On May 20, 1985, VOA's Radio Marti program of broadcasting to Cuba went on the air. News, public affairs, VOA editorials, music, and cultural, scientific, and entertainment features comprise its broadcast schedule, which was increased from 14 1/2 to 17 1/2 hours a day early in 1986.

Following initial protests and veiled threats to retaliate, Cuban authorities apparently have chosen to compete by upgrading the quality of their own broadcasting. So far, the gloomy predictions of Radio Marti's U.S. critics have not come to pass.

The Commission commends USIA for getting this valuable new service on the air. Despite ambiguous legislative intent, the Agency has successfully developed high-quality programming fully in accord with VOA standards of objectivity, accuracy, and balance. At the same time, the Cuban people are now able to receive news, ideas, and information about Cuba not otherwise available to them.

The Radio Marti program is broadcast on shortwave and from a VOA transmitter in Marathon, Florida, on the 1180 medium wave frequency. VOA officials estimate the signal reaches the entire country. This was corroborated in Commission discussions with Radio Marti program monitors at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba. Although reliable audience figures do not exist, focus group studies suggest the Radio Marti program has listeners in every demographic and professional group in Cuba.

The Commission encourages USIA to evaluate this important new service thoroughly to assure lively, relevant programming and compliance with legislative mandates.

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[1]Captive Nations Week Proclamation, July 19, 1982.

[2]VOA, broadcasting 1327 hours weekly in 42 languages, is still behind Radio Moscow, broadcasting 1680 hours weekly in 64 languages. Overall, however, U.S. international broadcasting moved ahead of the Soviet Union last year. The Voice of America, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Free Afghanistan now broadcast 2353 hours weekly in comparison to a Soviet total of 2220 hours.

[3]*Foreign Service Journal*, January, 1984.

The Wireless File

Computers are used for text editing and typesetting in the production of the Wireless File and USIA's magazines and pamphlets.

Now more than fifty years old, USIA's Wireless File continues to provide U.S. policy statements and related information to U.S. missions overseas, foreign officials, and foreign editors and journalists for media placement. The past year has seen progress in Wireless File automation, expanded Congressional coverage, and increased delivery of official texts, speeches, and policy background material.

Some 70 posts now receive the Wireless File electronically through computer-to-computer links with USIA in Washington; an additional 16 branch posts have computer links with their principal posts. By the end of 1986, the Agency expects that 120 posts will receive the Wireless File electronically, virtually all posts where it is feasible. For the rest, USIA is studying means by which the File could be transmitted by radioteletype but received on Victor microcomputers. These posts could then edit and store text with comparable flexibility.

USIA is experimenting with direct computer links with major media organizations in London, Manila, and Tokyo. Through ITT Dialcom these organizations can have direct access to parts of the Wireless File in Washington, thereby obviating the interim step of moving text through the USIA post. In addition to looking at expanded use of Dialcom, the Agency is studying development of a broader high-speed information service utilizing its new mainframe computer and the possibility of satellite transmission of the File to some posts and users.

USIA has upgraded the Wireless File's Congressional coverage in response to numerous post requests and has broadened the geographic spread of its U.S. media coverage by including major West Coast newspapers.

The Commission is pleased with the File's expanded coverage, more timely delivery, and new flexible editing and formatting capabilities. The Wireless File continues to be one of the most effective tools of public diplomacy.

American Participants

Academic specialist Miles Jackson addresses Pakistani librarians at USIA's Center in Islamabad.

Each year, through its American Participants (Amparts) program, USIA brings approximately 800 U.S. citizens from varying professions together with foreign audiences to discuss issues of mutual concern. An Ampart might be a U.S. Government official explaining and advocating U.S. policy toward Nicaragua; an economics professor describing ways a developing nation can attract foreign investment; a specialist in Afro-American literature; or a county elections official describing American methods of protecting against electoral fraud. For Amparts unable to travel, the Agency conducts video dialogues and telephone press conferences linking speakers in the United States with professional counterparts at USIA posts. Through its Sports America program, the Agency sends U.S. coaches and athletes abroad as Amparts to conduct sports workshops primarily in Third World countries. Amparts in all fields bring a depth of specialized expertise to the public diplomacy dialogue that USIA officers can rarely match.

The Ampart selection process responds to field programming needs. Each USIA post, as part of its annual Country Plan, requests speakers on various topics that support U.S. objectives in that country. USIA's Office of Program Development in Washington surveys those requests and invites experts who can undertake lecture tours to multiple posts, often within the same region. Amparts in recent years have included former UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, novelist E.L. Doctorow, Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, national security specialist Helmut Sonnenfeldt, and American boxer George Foreman.

In 1983, media reports of a so-called speakers "blacklist" in USIA's Amparts program led to inquiries by this Commission, the Congress, and the Agency's own Office of Inspections. The Commission dealt with this issue at length in its last report. Two years later, we are convinced that the Amparts program is operating effectively, unscarred by this unfortunate episode in its history. USIA is selecting a range of speakers who can explain, defend, and vigorously advocate U.S. Government policies. It is sending abroad articulate, highly competent professionals in a variety of subject areas who are capable — through dialogue and personal contact — of bringing responsible contrasting views and the best achievements of American society to audiences interested in what they have to say.

Exhibits

■ **The Commission welcomes the resumption of traveling U.S. thematic exhibits accompanied by language-qualified American guides to cities throughout the Soviet Union.**

■ **The Commission recommends that USIA fulfill its commitment to provide a United States presence at Vancouver Expo '86 and Brisbane Expo '88. Before the U.S. commits to additional events sanctioned by the Bureau of International Expositions, however, USIA should chair an interagency study of the political, commercial, and public diplomacy value of international expositions, their cost-effectiveness, and appropriate levels of U.S. Government and private sector participation in them. USIA also should reassess its own capability as presently organized to provide high quality U.S. pavilions and exhibits.**

One of the most significant provisions of the U.S.-Soviet Exchanges Agreement signed at the Geneva Summit permits USIA to resume major thematic exhibitions in the Soviet Union. The program was suspended in 1979 following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Under the agreement, the U.S. will be able to show its exhibits for 28 days each in up to nine cities.

The Commission finds the rationale for these exhibits persuasive and in the national interest. In the provincial cities of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, attendance at major U.S. exhibits has in the past ranged from the tens of thousands to occasionally over one million. The exhibits, accompanied by language-qualified American guides, provide many with their only first-hand exposure to the United States and to American citizens.

USIA's exhibits program also provides a U.S. presence at major international trade fairs; poster-like paper shows and audio/visual presentations, particularly valuable in street-front windows in U.S. embassies in Eastern Europe; and cultural exhibits in non-Communist countries where the U.S. has vital interests. In 1985, the Commission examined these programs with USIA's East European PAOs and the staffs of the Regional Program Office (RPO) and Regional Exhibits Office (REX) in Vienna.

USIA is responsible for providing a U.S. presence at overseas events sanctioned by the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE). With a Congressionally appropriated budget of $8.5 million and more than $6.5 million in private sector contributions, the Agency mounted an exhibit on artificial intelligence at the Tsukuba Expo '85 in Japan. Research and development is now underway for expositions in Vancouver in 1986 and Brisbane in 1988.

The Commission visited Tsukuba Expo '85. It has read an excellent evaluation of the exhibit prepared by USIA's Office of Re-

Former U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia Edwin G. Corr, center right, points out features of a USIA exhibit to former President of Bolivia Hernan Siles Zuazo.

search and a report by USIA's Inspector General on the management of the Tsukuba project. We have come away with a number of questions, which we believe both Congress and the executive branch should address.

Are international expositions scheduled with such frequency that the U.S. is unable to mount top quality pavilions and exhibits? The following BIE-sanctioned expositions have been held or are scheduled during the decade 1982-1992: Knoxville (1982), New Orleans (1984), Tsukuba (1985), Vancouver (1986), Brisbane (1988), Chicago (1992), and Seville (1992). USIA's evaluation found that visitors to the U.S. pavilion at Tsukuba Expo '85 rated it only "fair-to-good."

A poster display at USIA's American Center in Karachi, Pakistan.

Advisory Commission members visit USIA's Regional Program and Exhibits Offices in Vienna.

What is the national interest and public diplomacy value of U.S. participation in international expos? Are they cost-effective? Is the U.S. Government organized adequately to manage and fund its participation in these events?

Congress is primarily interested in encouraging BIE-sanctioned expositions in the U.S. handled by the Department of Commerce. It has been reluctant to fund adequately U.S. Government commitments to overseas BIE expositions carried out by USIA. Yet U.S. participation in foreign expositions is a trade-off resulting from expectations that other countries will participate in expositions in the United States. U.S. decisions are often made at the White House or Secretary of State level without full assessment of their organizational and resource requirements.

The Commission believes that USIA should fulfill its commitment to provide a United States presence at Vancouver Expo '86 and Brisbane Expo '88. Before the U.S. commits to additional events sanctioned by the Bureau of International Expositions, however, USIA should chair an interagency study of the political, commercial and public diplomacy value of U.S. participation in international expositions, their cost-effectiveness, and appropriate levels of U.S. Government and private sector participation in them. USIA should reassess its own capability as presently organized to provide high quality U.S. pavilions and exhibits.

National Endowment For Democracy

The National Endowment for Democracy was established as a Congressionally-funded private, nonprofit corporation in November 1983 to encourage the development of democratic values and institutions throughout the world. The Endowment supports business organizations, free trade unions, and a variety of other indigenous democratic groups in countries as diverse as Chile, Nicaragua, Poland, Afghanistan, the Philippines, and South Africa. Its Board of Directors is bipartisan.

USIA provides funds appropriated for the Endowment through an annual grant. In establishing this funding arrangement, Congressional foreign affairs leaders also suggested the Commission could "contribute usefully to the oversight of the Endowment and its relationship with USIA."* The Commission has met several times with the President of the Endowment and members of its Board of Directors.

During its first two years, the Endowment and its grantees encountered criticism and inevitably made some mistakes. But overall there have been some notable successes, and the Endowment is supporting a number of programs with considerable long-term potential. Examples include:

- "Libro Libre," a Costa Rican-based Central American book program, which is publishing low-cost editions supportive of democratic ideals and sponsoring conferences on democratic and human rights themes;
- *The Chinese Intellectual*, a Chinese language quarterly with a circulation among Chinese students in the West and inside China itself, which is promoting democratic values and providing support to young reformist groups in China;
- The AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), which, among other programs, is helping to strengthen democratic trade unions and prevent further Communist penetration of labor unions in the Philippines;
- The New York-based Committee in Support of Solidarity, which is promoting the translation and publication of documents on Polish workers and human rights issues;
- The U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), which is providing Peru's Institute for Liberty and Democracy with funds for a program of advocacy on behalf of small businesses (the "informal sector");
- The Republican Party-affiliated National Republican Institute for International Affairs, which supported nonpartisan voter education programs in Grenada prior to its 1984 elections; and
- The Democratic Party-affiliated National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, which assisted the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) of Northern Ireland in creating an institute for party-building and education development activities.

Since the Endowment was established, Congress has taken several steps to strengthen its operating procedures and public confidence in its activities. By law, no more than 25 percent of the Endowment's funds may now be granted to any single organization. Prior consultation is required with the Department of State on all Endowment-funded programs overseas. No Endowment funds may be used for domestic partisan politics, the activities of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, or any candidates for public office. All information relating to the Endowment's organization, procedures, and activities is publicly available, and it must comply with the Freedom of Information Act. Finally, USIA may audit the Endowment's financial transactions. The Commission welcomes these changes. The role of the Endowment is evolving, and we will continue to review its progress with great interest.

The Endowment is filling a need. Because it is a private, bipartisan body, it has the flexibility to undertake many programs that U.S. Government agencies would find difficult to carry out as effectively. America's adversaries work hard and spend a great deal to challenge democratic values throughout the world. The Endowment was created to meet that challenge and to provide a long-overdue American investment in building democratic institutions and processes. It will take time and steady, persistent effort. The Commission endorses the Endowment's goals and believes it should be given a chance to develop a record.

*Colloquy between Rep. Dante B. Fascell and Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman, *Congressional Record*, November 17, 1983, pp. H 1033-2.

Educational and Cultural Programs

Exchanges and International Visitors

■ The Commission urges USIA, the Department of State, and the relevant private sector organizations to move quickly to develop specific programs for U.S.-Soviet exchanges pursuant to the General Exchanges accord, other exchange initiatives undertaken at the Geneva Summit, and the agreement by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev to review these programs at their next meeting.

■ The Commission welcomes the Central American Program on Undergraduate Studies (CAMPUS), but finds Congressional limitation to a one-time pilot group of 154 students falls far short of the Kissinger Commission's recommendation. The Commission recommends the program be expanded.

■ The Commission supports funding for enrichment programs to provide the 340,000 foreign students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities with a broader understanding of the United States.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA's Office of Research undertake evaluations of U.S. Government-funded exchange and international visitor programs.

Exchange of persons and cultural presentation programs can be among the most effective instruments of public diplomacy. They can provide foreign audiences with a knowledge of our culture that puts our policies in perspective. Although their impact on short-term objectives is often difficult to discern, the Commission remains convinced that educational and cultural exchanges can create understanding and long-term relationships that are very much in the interests of the United States. As President Reagan said in his televised New Year's message to the Soviet Union, "If people in both countries can visit, study, and work together, we will strengthen the bonds of understanding and build a true foundation for lasting peace."

The Commission does not question the fundamental value of educational and cultural exchange programs, but it does believe they can be greatly strengthened through rigorous evaluation. Their benefits are not self-evident as some would suggest. USIA's FY 1986 budget for these programs is $169.3 million, approximately 25 percent of the Agency's enacted operating budget. With resources of this magnitude, in the budget climate now facing USIA, evaluations leading to the establishment of program priorities are a necessity.

The Commission is aware that for management planning purposes USIA's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs conducts internal grant reviews and periodically contracts for assessments of some of its programs. We are unaware, however, that USIA's Office of Research has had any significant role in evaluating the Bureau's programs, or the activities of the private sector organizations that carry many of them out.

The Commission recommends the Office of Research be asked to undertake its own evaluations of USIA's exchange and international visitor programs. It also should be asked to advise on studies contracted by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. In addition, the Agency's foreign public opinion surveys should ask routinely if those surveyed have visited or studied in the U.S. in conjunction with questions regarding attitudes toward the United States.

The role of private sector agencies in carrying out U.S. Government exchanges is, quite simply, indispensable. The Commission appreciates the intrinsic value of private sector involvement, and its central role in multiplying what cannot be accomplished through government programs alone.

To the extent these organizations operate with grants of government funds, however, they must be subject to regular financial audits and program review. Several recent cases have come to the Commission's attention that raise

serious questions about substantial non-compliance with the terms of grant agreements for periods of many years. Moreover, a tradition has grown in USIA that seems to establish favoritism for some groups over others. Relationships developed during many years have led some grant recipients to consider themselves part of a "core entitlement group." No private organization has an automatic right to taxpayer funds. The Commission believes the merits of all applicants must be judged by the same criteria. USIA must take greater care to treat its grant recipients equally, to make clear what is expected of them, and to hold them to the same standards of program effectiveness and financial conduct.

The Commission also has observed a tendency on the part of some USIA-funded exchange organizations, either deliberately or through oversight, to obscure the fact the U.S. Government is a major funding source for their programs. We believe the national interest is served if the American public and foreign scholars, political leaders, opinion makers and others who receive exchange program grants are aware the American people are supporting these programs through their tax dollars. The Commission urges the private sector agencies to do more to ensure that grantees and the public are aware of the extent to which these programs are sustained by U.S. Government funds.

Academic Exchanges

The past year has seen continued growth in the Fulbright-Hays exchange programs, both in dollar terms and in numbers of participating U.S. and foreign scholars. Figures provided by USIA's Office of Academic Programs show that for FY 1985 (academic year 1985-86), the number of grants for U.S. Fulbright lecturers, research scholars, short-term lecturers, students, teachers, and grantees through cooperating private institutions rose from 2,490 to 2,617. The number of foreign Fulbright scholars rose from 3,488 to an estimated 3,680 during the same year.

The University Affiliation Program, which enables U.S. academic institutions to establish enduring partnerships with foreign universities, increased the number of affiliations by nearly 30 in FY 1985 to bring the total to 100. The grants of up to $50,000 fund joint research, teacher and student exchanges, the sharing of facilities, and joint publication of research findings.

The Hubert Humphrey North-South Fellowship Program increased from 133 grantees in FY 1984 to 150 in FY 1985. This important program awards grants to mid-career professionals in public service from developing countries for one year of non-degree study in the United States. A recent change in emphasis—on professional training rather than formal academic study—is a positive development.

U.S.-Soviet Exchanges Agreement

A general exchanges agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union covering education, culture, science, and technology was signed at the Geneva Summit. The U.S. and the USSR have had formal educational and cultural exchanges for more than 21 years. The new accord, which extends through 1991, includes:

- Reciprocal U.S. and Soviet traveling thematic exhibits on aspects of life in each country;
- Exchanges of at least ten individual performers and at least ten major performing arts groups from each country;
- Expansion of academic exchanges to include 15 Fulbright teaching professors, 40 long-term researchers, language teachers, and exchanges between archives;
- Exchanges in a wide variety of fields such as art, theater, film, architecture, music, law, journalism, medicine, museums, radio, and television;
- Exchanges of publications between libraries, including book exhibits, magazines, and technical publications;
- Continued distribution of the magazine *America Illustrated* in the Soviet Union and *Soviet Life* in the United States;
- Exchanges of parliamentarians and other government officials at federal, state, and local levels; and
- Expansion of civic and social organization exchanges in fields such as tourism and sports.

Although the agreement is between governments, it paves the way for the U.S. private sector to become deeply involved. Universities, dance companies, theater groups, athletic organizations, churches, and professional organizations of doctors, lawyers, and scientists can invite their Soviet counterparts to visit the United

"Americans should know the people of the Soviet Union—their hopes and fears and the facts of their lives. And citizens of the Soviet Union need to know of America's deep desire for peace and our unwavering attachment to freedom.

"We've concluded a new agreement designed to bring the best of America's artists and academics to the Soviet Union. The exhibits that will be included in this exchange are one of the most effective ways for the average Soviet citizen to learn about our way of life. This agreement will also expand the opportunities for Americans to experience the Soviet people's rich cultural heritage—because their artists and academics will be coming here.

"We've also decided to go forward with a number of people-to-people initiatives that will go beyond greater contact not only between the political leaders of our two countries, but our respective students, teachers and others as well. We have emphasized youth exchanges. And this will help break down stereotypes, build friendships and, frankly, provide an alternative to propaganda."

President Ronald Reagan

States for conferences, concerts, tours, and professional symposia. In return, Americans will visit all corners of the Soviet Union.

In his pre-Summit address to the nation, President Reagan also called for a new program of "people-to-people initiatives," going beyond traditional exchange programs to bring the people of the United States and the Soviet Union into direct contact—to "lessen the distrust between the two nations, reduce the levels of secrecy, and bring forth a more open world." At Geneva, the two leaders agreed on six new kinds of exchanges:

- Annual exchanges of professors to conduct special courses in history, culture, and economics;
- Creation of a U.S.-Soviet scholarship program in the natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, and technology;
- Measures to promote the study of the Russian language in the U.S. and English in the USSR;
- A joint program of cancer research;
- A program for cooperation in developing elementary and secondary school microcomputer educational software; and
- Expansion of contacts in sports, including regular meets and increased television coverage.

Both governments currently are drawing up specific proposals. The Commission urges the speedy development of concrete programs pursuant to the agreement by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev to review progress at their next meeting.

The Commission welcomes the General Exchanges Agreement and the President's people-to-people initiatives. USIA, the Department of State, and the relevant private sector organizations must be vigilant to ensure that strict reciprocity is maintained in overall numbers of grantees and in academic fields. For example, U.S. social scientists traveling to the USSR must be matched by Soviet social scientists, and not nuclear physicists, coming to this country.

Central American Exchanges

In January 1986, a pilot group of 154 Central American undergraduate students arrived in the United States to take part in the Central American Program of Undergraduate Scholarships (CAMPUS). The program is a direct result of a recommendation made in the Kissinger Commission's 1984 report on Central America and is consistent with this Commission's own recommendation last year.

CAMPUS is an experiment. Its goal is to help these students become productive members of their own societies. The students—from all Central American nations, including Nicaragua, and Panama—will remain in the United States for 18 to 30 months depending on their course of study. Most are now pursuing six months of intensive English language training. All were selected on the basis of economic need, superior motivation, and demonstrated academic achievement. USIA is administering the program through direct contracts with U.S. colleges, rather than through private sector program agencies. An outside management consulting firm has been retained to conduct an ongoing evaluation.

Only a handful of disadvantaged Central American students have had the opportunity to study in the United States, although thousands study annually in the Soviet bloc. The United States, which is understandably concerned about military conflict in Central America, for too long has left competition in the field of ideas to the Soviets. The CAMPUS program is a small start, but a good one. The Commission recommends it be expanded.

Substantial increases have occurred also in traditional exchange programs in the region. International Visitor grants have expanded from 50 to 77 grantees annually, and Fulbright exchanges from 60 grantees to 175 annually.

Distinguished Former Participants in USIA's International Visitors Program
The following current foreign chiefs of state or heads of government came to the United States earlier in their careers as participants in USIA's International Visitors Program.

Africa	
Botswana	President Quett K. J. Masire, 1975
Central African Republic	President General Andre-Dieudonne Kolingba, 1966
Kenya	President Daniel T. arap Moi, 1969
Madagascar	President Didier Ratsiraka, 1973
Mauritius	Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth, 1981
	Governor General Dayendranath Burrenchobay, 1969
Seychelles	President France Albert Rene, 1967
Zambia	Prime Minister Kebby S.K. Musokorwane, 1979

American Republics	
Argentina	President Raul Alfonsin, 1981
Colombia	President Belisario Betancur, 1952
Dominican Republic	President Salvador Jorge Blanco, 1979
Montserrat	Chief Minister John Osborne, 1981
St. Vincent	Prime Minister James Fitzallen Mitchell, 1973
Uruguay	President Julio Maria Sanguinetti, 1983

East Asia and Pacific	
Fiji	Governor General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, 1963
	Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, 1964
French Polynesia	President Territorial Assembly Gaston Flosse, 1969
Malaysia	Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad, 1973
New Zealand	Prime Minister David Lange, 1983
Papua New Guinea	Prime Minister Michael Somare, 1971
Singapore	President Wee Kim Wee, 1964
Solomon Islands	Governor General Baddeley Devesi, 1977
Tonga	King Taufa'ahau Pupou IV, 1964
	Prime Minister Prince Fatafehi Tu'ipelehake, 1968
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	President Tosiwo Nakayama, 1961
Vanuatu	Prime Minister Father Walter Lini, 1976

Europe	
Austria	Chancellor Dr. Fred Sinowatz, 1963
Belgium	Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, 1971
Canada	Governor General Edward R. Schreyer, 1978
Federal Republic of Germany	President Richard Von Weizsaecker, 1976
Luxembourg	Prime Minister & Minister of Finance Jacques Santer, 1973
Norway	Prime Minister Kare Willoch, 1978
Portugal	President Mario Soares, 1976
United Kingdom	Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, 1963

North Africa, Near East and South Asia	
Lebanon	President Amin Gemayel, 1972/79
Sri Lanka	Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, 1966
Tunisia	Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali, 1964

Five U.S.-Central American university affiliation programs have been added, and 33 U.S. lecturers and researchers will travel soon to the region, a fourfold increase in U.S. Fulbrighters. The Commission welcomes these increases.

Foreign Students in the United States

Last year more than 342,000 foreign students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities. Sixty-six percent used personal or family funds to pay for their education, while another 12 percent were financed by their home governments. Only two percent received U.S. Government support. Many of these students will assume leadership positions and be in the forefront of economic development when they return home.

Less than a fourth of these students will experience "enrichment" programs aimed at broadening their understanding of the United States, its culture, its people, and its values. In FY 1985, USIA provided $700,000 in grants to academic institutions and private nonprofit organizations for such programs—a funding level only slightly higher in real terms than what was spent to reach the 50,000 foreign students in the U.S. when the program was created in 1961. This clearly is inadequate.

More should be done to provide foreign students with opportunities to meet American professionals in their fields of study, to encourage community-based programs and volunteer efforts aimed at foreign students, and to increase opportunities for them to deepen their appreciation of American institutions and culture.

Many of the world's future political leaders, industrialists, business executives, scientists and teachers are in the United States today. This important audience for U.S. public diplomacy efforts can be reached with only a modest investment of funds.

International Visitors

USIA's International Visitors (IV) program, which brings established and potential foreign leaders to the United States for visits of a few weeks, has nearly doubled in the past four years. In FY 1986, the Agency expects 3,000 visitors.

Just as important, in the Commission's view, is the use of computer technology by USIA and private sector organizations that arrange professional appointments and local programs throughout the United States to make the visits more substantive and productive.

Through a series of grants, expected to total about $1 million, USIA is upgrading the data processing capabilities of approximately 100 local organizations. High-speed link-ups will connect visitor program agencies with each other and with USIA's Reception Centers. For instance, program planners in Atlanta will communicate more quickly with counterparts in Dallas. Schedules can be more closely tailored to a visitor's interests, and duplication more easily avoided. The purpose is to maximize the effectiveness and impact of the visitor's relatively short time in the United States.

Most local international visitor agencies in the U.S. developed as purely volunteer organizations decades ago. The volunteer nature of the national network is uniquely American, and provides an important and necessary dimension to the program. But as farsighted members of the National Council for International Visitors (NCIV) Board of Directors informed the Commission this year, there is a need to raise program standards and strengthen the efficiency and professionalism of the volunteer agencies, especially as the number of visitors continues to rise.

USIA currently is facilitating fund-raising workshops for local visitor committees to permit them to expand their resources and, where needed, to hire professional staff. Additionally, the Agency is seeking to ensure that local volunteers understand the importance of professional development activities as well as tourism and home hospitality while a visitor is in their community. USIA and the NCIV are seeking to broaden the demographic profile of the volunteers to ensure broad private sector representation by all elements of American society. Finally, the adoption of competitive bidding procedures for private sector agencies will increase the cost-effectiveness of their programs.

Cultural Diplomacy

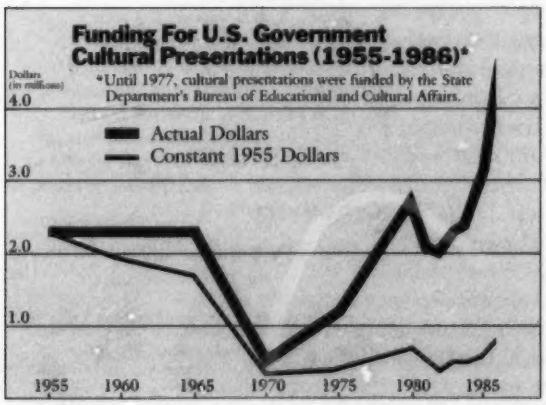
■ The Commission finds that funding for USIA's arts and cultural presentation programs has not kept pace with national needs and is far less than what is being spent by America's allies or the Soviet Union. USIA should examine its overall budget with a view toward ensuring greater balance between its educational exchange and cultural presentation programs.

The benefits of cultural diplomacy — tours by American performing arts groups and fine arts exhibits, U.S. participation in arts festivals, and lectures and workshops by U.S. writers and artists — are well established. USIA's cultural exchanges are carried out primarily through its Arts America and Artistic Ambassador programs.

Arts America, which in addition to its other activities administers cultural agreements with China, the Soviet Union, and countries in Eastern Europe, had a budget in FY 1985 of $3.1 million. Its programs included 24 performing arts groups, 83 writers and artists, and 19 art exhibits. Arts America selections are based on recommendations from the National Endowment for the Arts. Under the 1985 Artistic Ambassadors program, five young, previously "undiscovered" American pianists were selected through regional competitions and sent on solo tours to 25 countries.

The Commission is concerned that funds for cultural diplomacy are little changed from the amounts this nation spent on such programs 30 years ago. In real dollar terms they are only a tiny percentage of mid-1950s levels, despite significant and justified increases in U.S. Government *educational* exchange programs.

The amount the United States spends on cultural diplomacy also is well below what is spent by either our major allies or the Soviet Union. Although foreign cultural diplomacy budgets do not permit exact comparisons, British Council figures for 1984-85 show an "arts/humanities" budget of $11 million. In 1986, according to press reports, the U.K. will fund 300 British music and drama tours to more than 60 countries, 50 British fine arts exhibits in 40 countries, and 300 British films for 30 international festivals. West Germany in 1980 (the most recent year for which figures are available) spent $290 million on all "cultural/educational" programs. USIA's corresponding *educational* and *cultural* budget that year was $86.2 million. France spent $648 million on international cultural programs in 1980, 60 percent of it aimed at Francophone Africa. Finally, the Soviet Union spends far more annually than the U.S. for its information and cultural activities. A large portion subsidizes tours by showpiece companies such as the Bolshoi Ballet.



As California Institute of the Arts President Robert Fitzpatrick stated recently in an address to the American Council for the Arts:

*"The current American practice of cultural diplomacy is clearly inadequate and frequently embarrassing. The United States is a world leader, not just in agriculture, science, technology, and business, but also in most cultural fields. Unfortunately, we consistently fail to use those things that could create a climate of tolerance, understanding, interest, and excitement which would be beneficial to the country."**

Secretary of State George Shultz in a meeting with this Commission last year expressed the view that the "cultural side" in USIA does not get nearly the attention and policy push that it should. A number of Public Affairs Officers have expressed similar concerns during Commission post visits.

The Commission finds that funding for USIA's arts and cultural presentation programs has not kept pace with national needs. USIA should examine its overall budget with a view toward ensuring greater balance between its educational exchange and cultural presentation programs.

**Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1985.

Book Programs

■ The Commission finds the United States is still not competitive in international book and library activities despite recent funding increases for USIA's book programs.

■ The Commission endorses the major findings of the Task Force on U.S. Books Abroad and recommends that USIA and the National Security Council move quickly to implement them.

More than a year ago, a special Task Force on U.S. Books Abroad, established by USIA at the direction of the National Security Council, completed its study of the 20 year decline in the dissemination of American books overseas. Among its extensive recommendations were:

■ A Presidential directive to all relevant U.S. Government agencies to bring about a revitalization of overseas book programs;

Patrons browse at the American Center Library in Lusaka, Zambia, where 1,000 books circulate each month.

■ A currency convertibility program to enable importers in developing countries to convert local currencies into dollars for book orders and translation reprint rights; and

■ Increases in funding for USIA's book and library programs sufficient to bring resources to the level of the 1960s.

The report and a complementary set of recommendations prepared by former USIA Director Leonard Marks were sent to the National Security Council in May 1985. To date, there has been no formal response.

The Commission endorses the major findings of the Task Force report and recommends that USIA and the NSC move quickly to implement them.

In the meantime, growth has occurred in USIA's overseas book and library programs. USIA's budget for book programs (including staff salaries and related costs) for FY 1986 is $5 million, an increase of $2.3 million from the previous year—still well below the $15 million the Task Force suggests is needed to bring it to 1960s levels.

Congress has continued the Central American book initiative begun in FY 1985. Under the program, 30,000 to 40,000 textbooks have been provided to Central American universities.

The donated books program expanded from 50,000 books in FY 1984 to 500,000 donated by American publishers in FY 1985. Valued at $5 million, the books were distributed primarily in the developing world. Agency officials estimate a potential 5 million books could be donated annually, 10 times the current amount. USIA's staff and available warehouse space will accommodate perhaps one million.

USIA also has heightened its presence at international book fairs, a part of the book industry long neglected by the Agency that familiarizes foreign importers and the public with the best of U.S. publishing.

The Soviet Union, which translates more titles than any other country in the world, continues to flood the markets of developing countries with subsidized low-cost books — both to advance Marxist-Leninist ideas and to demonstrate Soviet cultural values. The U.S. is still far from competitive with the Soviet Union or such major allies as the United Kingdom, West Germany, and France in international book and library programs.

Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick wrote recently:

*"It is endlessly ironic that the Soviet Union, which affirms the power of economics over culture and matter over mind, should sponsor a vigorous program of publishing and distributing books worldwide while the United States, which embodies and promotes freedom, should invest little effort and few resources in their production and distribution."**

The Commission agrees.

*William M. Childs and Donald E. McNeil, eds., *American Books Abroad*, The Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1986, p. xi.

English Teaching

An English language class at the Yemen-America Institute in Sana'a.

Since its inception, USIA has been involved in English language teaching programs, concentrating on teacher training. More than 381,500 foreign citizens attend English-language classes at Agency-assisted facilities annually.

In past reports the Commission noted that declining funds over a period of years had weakened USIA's English teaching program. In 1967, USIA had more than 150 Americans overseas engaged in English teaching. Today, the Agency has only 12 English teaching specialists assigned to USIA posts abroad. These officers conduct teacher training courses; consult with posts on their English teaching activities; conduct seminars and workshops for national teachers of English; consult with ministry, university, and teacher training officials on national English teaching programs; lecture at universities and teacher training institutions; and evaluate English teaching programs in which USIA has an interest. The Agency also prepares and distributes a variety of English teaching and teacher training materials.

The English teaching budget for FY 1986 is $1.5 million, an increase of $427,000 from FY 1985. Recent program highlights include the first teacher training seminar under the Central American Initiative, the establishment of a regional English Teaching Officer position in South Africa, and growth in USIA's *English Teaching Forum* to subscriptions totalling more than 110,000.

USIA obtained approval from Congress in 1982 to recycle proceeds from teaching fees and the sale of Agency materials, up to a $500,000 limit. The funds ordinarily would have reverted to the U.S. Treasury. As of September 30, 1985, approximately $318,000 had been recycled.

On December 13, 1985, USIA and the Macmillan Publishing Company announced a cooperative agreement that enables Macmillan to produce a major multimedia package to teach English to speakers of other languages. USIA will have considerable input into the concept and design of the series.

The program is designed for the beginner to intermediate level. It will consist of 26 half-hour television programs in a magazine format, 52 fifteen-minute radio programs, series workbooks, video and audio cassettes, supplementary texts and teachers' aids. Designed for use both in the classroom and open-air broadcast, this package will serve a multitude of post needs. The series also will provide users with insights into American institutions and customs.

The Commission commends the Agency for this innovative and far-sighted initiative.

East-West Center

■ The Commission welcomes recent improvements in the management and program relevance of the East-West Center and encourages USIA's Public Affairs Officers to make greater use of this valuable resource. The Commission recommends the East-West Center give increased attention to narcotics issues.

U.S. Fulbright Professor John Hafner conducts a seminar in American literature at the University of Indonesia's new American Studies Center in Jakarta.

Last year the East-West Center in Honolulu celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. This unique institution annually brings together some 2,000 scholars, graduate students, government officials, journalists, and other professionals from some 60 countries to examine issues of importance to Asia and the United States. The Center has developed a network of more than 33,000 "alumni," many in key leadership positions. Two-thirds of the participants are from Asian and Pacific nations; one-third are from the United States. In FY 1986, the Congress, through USIA, funded $20 million of the Center's budget of $25 million.

The Commission has visited the Center and discussed its programs at length with its Board of Directors and senior staff. The East-West Center plays a key role in U.S.-Asian relations. We welcome recent improvements in its management and program relevance, and we applaud its efforts to decrease its dependence on USIA as its primary source of funding. In 1985, the Center began a comprehensive effort to raise a $25 million endowment fund. The Commission urges the Center to make increased support by the private sector and other governments a high priority.

We also encourage USIA's Public Affairs Officers in the region to make greater use of this valuable resource. Areas to consider include participation in seminars by International Visitors and Amparts, greater post use of East-West Center publications, and greater post input into the planning and execution of Center events and research studies. USIA also should consider detailing an officer to the Center.

Finally, we recommend that the Center sponsor research and programs in all aspects of narcotics trafficking, including the impact of substance abuse, societal consequences for producer and consumer countries, and the legal issues involved.

Security and Public Diplomacy

■ The Commission recommends that legislation on diplomatic security fully take into account USIA's public diplomacy mission, the need for relatively free public access to USIA's libraries and information centers, and the desirability that USIA give visible evidence of the free and open society it represents.

■ The Commission recommends that legislation require the Department of State to consult with USIA on security policies and programs, funding levels, and security standards. USIA should have authority and separately identified funds to furnish logistical security support to its overseas installations and to perform its own security inspections.

■ The Commission believes USIA should move quickly to adopt all reasonable security measures without jeopardizing its mission. Security decisions affecting USIA should be made on a flexible, case-by-case basis in full recognition of differences in local threat levels. These decisions should be based on Country Team assessments and lead to the least possible isolation of USIA from its audiences.

■ The Commission recommends that physical security policies apply equally to U.S. and foreign national employees at their place of work.

Public diplomacy is facing a new and fundamental dilemma. How does USIA remain accessible to its audiences and, at the same time, protect the security of its personnel and facilities?

Terrorist threats and acts of violence against American diplomats make it imperative that we do more as a nation to protect U.S. personnel and installations overseas. The problem is urgent, and the Commission welcomes the protective measures, enhanced professional standards, and plans to correct security deficiencies at U.S. embassies recommended by the Inman Panel on overseas security and contemplated in legislation requested by President Reagan.

Effective public diplomacy, however, requires that USIA's libraries, cultural centers, and press offices be accessible to those they are intended to serve. To "harden" USIA's buildings, insist on 100-foot setbacks for Agency facilities in urban areas, or require that they be moved to remote embassy compounds would greatly diminish their effectiveness.

The Commission strongly believes that the threat of terrorism should not be allowed to deter the United States from conducting public diplomacy. Late last year, in an effort to bring needed public attention to this important issue, we prepared a special report containing a number of detailed recommendations.*

The Commission did not question the Department of State's primary responsibility in formulating diplomatic security policies. But we recommended that the Department take into account USIA's separate public diplomacy mission and its Director's responsibility for carrying it out. The Commission is pleased that Secretary of State George Shultz recognized this when he wrote to USIA Director Charles Wick on October 16, 1985, "that differing [security] standards should be applied to [VOA] relay stations and libraries." It is important that this broad policy be reflected in the legislation now before the Congress.

The Commission recommends that legislation on diplomatic security take into account USIA's public diplomacy mission and the need for relatively free public access to USIA's libraries and information centers. The legislation should require the Department of State to consult fully with USIA on security policies and programs, funding levels, and security standards. USIA should have authority and separately identified funds to furnish logistical security support to its overseas installations and to perform its own security inspections.

Security decisions affecting USIA should be made on a flexible, case-by-case basis in full recognition of differences in local threat levels. These decisions should be based on Country Team assessments and lead to the least possible isolation of USIA from its audiences. This approach requires more than broad policy statements at the top. It re-

*U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, "Terrorism and Security: The Challenge for Public Diplomacy," December, 1985. Copies are available from the Commission.

quires consultations between USIA and the Department of State that are timely and thorough. To date they have been neither.

The Commission also questions State Department policies that create different standards for U.S. and foreign national employees at USIA's libraries and information centers. Waivers of 100-foot setback standards for USIA's buildings should not be contingent on the requirement that U.S. employees be located separately from their foreign national colleagues. Physical security policies must be applied equally to all USIA employees at their place of work.

COMMENTS BY U.S. AMBASSADORS ON SECURITY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The Commission has received thoughtful comments from a number of American Ambassadors on the need to take the mission of public diplomacy into account in dealing with security concerns in their country. Typical are the following:*

Ambassador John D. Scanlan in Yugoslavia

"There is no doubt in my mind, particularly since I have been directly involved in USIS programs during much of my career in the Foreign Service, that successful USIS programs require reasonable public access. Therefore, I applaud your Commission's effort to assure that such access by audiences which USIS must address will be retained. It is only through such availability that USIS can fulfill its mandate. At the same time, I fully agree that appropriate security measures are required and the RSO, PAO and I have consulted on the most effective way to implement them."

Ambassador John Gunther Dean in India

"The heart of the matter is that Embassy officers and USIS officers do two quite different things in foreign countries. What USIS does (public diplomacy, library operations, hosting cultural and intellectual programs), requires daily and easy access to USIS premises by host country nationals.

"Your excellent article in the October 7 Washington Post *is a cogent and persuasive summary of these basic points — and the overall meaning is enhanced by your eloquent title: 'Don't Let Security Hide Our Light.'*

"I am especially concerned about this 'light' in India, where it is very bright indeed. The four USIS libraries are among the best and most effective American libraries in the world. The USIS centers host what may be the busiest schedule of USIS programming in the world. The physical plants of these buildings are the tangible source of this light. They bring the American message to this nation of 750 million people. Enforcing on these buildings the same security procedures mandated for embassy buildings — where the type of activity, as I have said, is quite different — would make it nearly impossible for USIS to do its job. As stated in the last section of the report: 'It is impossible to conduct public diplomacy from behind barred doors.'"

Ambassador Millicent H. Fenwick at the U.S. Mission to the UN in Rome

"The recommendations [in the Commission's report] which struck me as particularly valuable and relevant were these: the need for free access for the public; the requirement that the State Department consult with USIS on security; separate funds, clearly authorized for expenditure by USIS and agreement with State as to security arrangements; flexibility; and equal security arrangements for foreign and U.S. workers."

Ambassador Mike Mansfield in Japan

"I would like to add my full support to your major recommendations. Legislation should recognize the separate mandate of USIA to conduct public *diplomacy and the USIA Director's responsibility to fulfill this mandate. Implementation of legislation should be by inter-agency agreement working through an inter-agency policy-making and coordinating body.*

"Appropriate separate standards need to be developed for USIS libraries and information centers and these standards must be flexible enough to recognize the wide differences in the local threat level and the host country's ability and inclination to deal with it.

"The key here is to avoid impeding public access to the detriment of the mission's public affairs goals. In Japan, for example, American Centers need a central city location if we are to maintain reasonable accessibility for USIS' clients.

"These separate, flexible standards are best set by using the expertise of the Country Team to the fullest extent possible coupled with Washington inter-agency coordinating body review of important, long-range security decisions made by the Ambassador.

"I trust the Commission's report will be given the serious attention it deserves both within the Department and in Congress."

Ambassador L. Craig Johnstone in Algeria

"I applaud the position you have taken. Although, in this era of terrorism, we must all do what is possible to protect the lives of our American and foreign national employees, we must not let the terrorists succeed in driving us into bunkers or isolation.

"In this regard, we have been through a successful negotiation among the interested agencies concerning the opening of a new USIS cultural center in Algiers. Our choices were to require absolute adherence to Inman panel guidelines, thereby requiring that USIS move to a remote location, or to make reasonable accommodations to the USIS role while upgrading security at a location accessible to the Algerian public. I am pleased to report that we chose the second course and that in Algiers, at least, security concerns, respected as they will be, will not hide our light."

*Letters to U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy Chairman Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. from Ambassador Mike Mansfield, January 10, 1986; Ambassador L. Craig Johnstone, December 29, 1985; Ambassador Millicent H. Fenwick, January 13, 1986; Ambassador John D. Scanlan, January 8, 1986; and Ambassador John Gunther Dean, January 9, 1986.

USIA Officer Assignments

■ The Commission finds continued under-representation of senior USIA officers in Ambassadorial and Deputy Chief of Mission positions and recommends that the President and the Secretary of State correct this imbalance.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA officers be given equal consideration with their State Department colleagues for Chargé and *acting* DCM positions.

■ The Commission recommends that the Department of State increase the variety of Washington assignments given to USIA officers.

■ The Commission recommends that a USIA officer serve as the senior public diplomacy advisor to the Secretary of State.

■ The Commission recommends that USIA officers be assigned routinely to regional and other policy positions on the staff of the National Security Council.

Almost without fail, as members of this Commission depart from a USIA post, we remark about the quality of the officers that USIA has been able to attract and hold over the years. We have met them in different capacities — as Information Officers, as Cultural Affairs Officers, and as Public Affairs Officers, many of whom have larger staffs and greater responsibilities than Ambassadors at small missions. We have been told frequently by Ambassadors that the Public Affairs Officer is the most valued member of the Country Team. We have been impressed with their political acumen and the ease with which they interact with a broad range of influential foreign officials and opinion leaders.

Ambassadorial Assignments

Nevertheless, USIA's officers are substantially under-represented at the top of their profession. Ambassadorial and Deputy Chief of Mission appointments routinely go to State Department officers, but only rarely to USIA officers of equivalent rank, merit, and experience.

Last year, 80 U.S. Ambassadors were career foreign service officers out of a total of 127. Three of the 80 were USIA officers. Looking at appointments over the past decade, the ratio is the same. On a proportional basis, *USIA officers are seven times less likely than State Department officers to make Ambassador.*

USIA officers do their share of political reporting, monitor host country developments as closely as any State political officer, usually have greater representational responsibilities than Mission officers other than the Ambassador, are recruited for their strong written and oral communications skills, and have extensive management and negotiating experience. In addition, USIA's foreign language proficiency requirements are among the most rigorous in the foreign affairs community.

The Commission again recommends that the President and the Secretary of State act to correct this imbalance and make greater use of USIA's officers for Ambassadorial and Deputy Chief of Mission appointments. The Commission also recommends that USIA's officers be given equal consideration with their State Department colleagues for Chargé and acting DCM positions.

Interagency Assignments

USIA's advisory role in the policy making process can be enhanced significantly through interagency assignments. Historically, USIA officers on tours of duty at the Department of State have been assigned to the Department's Public Affairs Office or to press positions in the geographic bureaus. The Commission is pleased that modest progress is being made in assigning USIA officers to geographic desks and a variety of other positions in the Department. The Commission recommends that the Department increase the number of such assignments.

In addition, the position of senior public diplomacy advisor to the Secretary of State has the potential to broaden significantly the Department's appreciation of the value of public diplomacy and to enhance coordination between the Department and USIA. Unfortunately, in recent years this position has not been filled by a senior USIA officer. The Commission urges the Secretary to appoint a senior USIA officer with broad field experience to this important position.

Finally, the Commission recommends that USIA officers be routinely assigned to regional and other substantive policy positions on the staff of the National Security Council.

Training

■ **The Commission recommends that USIA and the Department of State move with greater urgency to institute a systematic program of media and advocacy skills training for Ambassadors, Deputy Chiefs of Mission, and USIA officers.**

■ **The Commission recommends that USIA officers receive more training on narcotics issues, and the impact of production, trafficking, and consumption on producing and consuming nations.**

In its last report, the Commission strongly urged USIA and the Department of State to institute a program of media skills training for Ambassadors and Public Affairs Officers to enable them to explain U.S. actions and policies more effectively on foreign television programs. In June 1985, this Commission, USIA, and the Department of State jointly sponsored a television training conference in London for European Ambassadors and PAOs. The conference, designed to upgrade media skills and develop ideas for a regular training program, was judged highly useful by most Ambassadors and an eye-opener by many. Subsequently, USIA has undertaken a pilot television skills workshop for mid-career officers and extensive research on appropriate ways to implement media skills training.

A year later, the Commission is disappointed with USIA's lack of progress in implementing this recommendation. Most Ambassadors and many PAOs still have had little television training. With television interviews becoming an increasingly important part of their duties, it is essential that hands-on training and frequent practice be part of their professional development. USIA's PAOs must not only become highly proficient themselves, they must be qualified to serve as primary advisors to their Ambassadors on a broad range of media skills and advocacy techniques, such as debating and extemporaneous speaking.

In an era of budget austerity, USIA need not contract with top-of-the-line television skill development firms. Much can be done with a "bare bones" approach. A single qualified professional using USIA's own television equipment in regularly scheduled training courses can do a great deal. The Commission urges USIA and the Department of State to get on with the task.

Other Training Needs

The Commission has not undertaken an assessment of USIA's training programs. However, several training needs have come to our attention during recent PAO conferences and post visits. Many foreign national employees in post audio/visual sections were trained primarily to deal with 16 mm film. Suddenly, they are WORLDNET television technicians. USIA needs to do more to upgrade their skills.

Many of the engineers at VOA's relay stations hired in the period after World War II are now retiring. VOA is finding it difficult to compete with private sector salaries in attracting recruits. Moreover, U.S. technical schools do not offer courses in shortwave technology, VOA being almost the only user of such skills. VOA wisely has begun an in-house training program for its relay station engineers. The Agency also should look at curriculum development grants for technical schools, perhaps near its primary transmitting station in North Carolina, to meet its engineering needs.

Finally, U.S. public diplomacy must do more to address international narcotics issues. The perception in many countries that the U.S., as a narcotics consuming nation, is responsible for the problem distorts the fact that narcotics trafficking and consumption are shared international concerns. Unchecked narcotics trafficking causes economic distortions, breakdown of societal values, and corruption of legal and political systems. The Commission recommends that all USIA officers receive more training on narcotics issues and their impact on countries involved in production and distribution.

Representation

■ The Commission reaffirms its finding that personal contact with foreign opinion leaders is one of the most important functions of public diplomacy and urges that USIA's representation funds be made comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies.

The Commission has urged Congress repeatedly to increase the amount of USIA's budget allowed for representational activities overseas. We appreciate that Congress in recent years gradually has increased the funding ceiling on this critical activity. Nevertheless, the Agency's representational budget remains well below the level necessary for public diplomacy to be fully effective. Out-of-pocket expenditures by USIA officers have continued, although at a somewhat lower level. Americans serving their country overseas should not have to dip into their personal funds to perform their missions.

In our society, the benefits of representational activity are taken for granted — in sales, in the media, in public relations, in political campaigns, and in corporate public affairs. One-on-one personal contact is just as necessary in today's crowded public diplomacy environment. It is one thing to present a clear message to a foreign opinion leader; it is another to ensure that it is heard. Personal contact in a representational setting can mean that USIA's press release or feature article or offer of a satellite telecast will get the attention it deserves.

USIA is underfunded when compared on a per capita basis to the representational budget of the Department of State, even though the representation obligations of USIA's officers are at least as great as those of their Department colleagues. A comparison of USIA and State shows that in FY 1985 *USIA, with 600 foreign service officers eligible for representation funds, spent $636,000, or $1,060 per capita, on representation. The State Department with 2,923 officers eligible for representation funds, including Ambassadors, spent $4,500,000, or $1,540 per capita.* USIA's representation budget increased to $768,000 in FY 1986 for its eligible overseas officers. Its per capita share remains well below State Department levels.

As a Commission we have a responsibility to ensure that tax dollars for public diplomacy are spent wisely. USIA's overseas representation funds serve the national interest. The Commission does not recommend that USIA's overall budget be increased for representation purposes. We do recommend that USIA's House and Senate Appropriations Committees substantially increase the ceiling on representation expenditures within USIA's program budget, and that they be made comparable to those of other U.S. Government agencies.

Pianist David Northington performs at the American Cultural Center in Madrid. Under USIA's Artistic Ambassadors program, gifted musicians perform before large and small audiences, give masters classes, and speak about American musical life at workshops and seminars.

Utilization of Personnel

■ The Commission finds that new communications technologies and program expansion continue to make extensive demands on the staff resources of USIA's overseas posts. Adjustments in personnel levels that may be required by federal budget reductions should not be made in the Agency's field operations.

The rebuilding of USIA—necessary capital improvements, development of new technologies, and the addition and enhancement of good programs—is greatly encouraging to this Commission. As the Agency's growth curve levels out, however, it is important that USIA look closely at the distribution of its key resource—its personnel.

The Commission continues to be concerned that USIA's field posts do not have adequate staff to administer entirely new programs, such as WORLDNET and Video Libraries, or expanded exchange and International Visitor programs. The number of American employees overseas has remained relatively stable for the past decade. During the same period, however, the Agency's U.S.-based staff has increased by more than 1,000, or about 30 percent (more than 900 of the increase was in VOA). USIA's foreign national staff has decreased by slightly less than 1,000, about 25 percent. In 1975, taking U.S. and foreign national employees together, overseas posts accounted for approximately two-thirds of USIA's positions. In 1985, only slightly more than half of the Agency's positions were in the field.

The Commission recommends that USIA look closely at the distribution of its personnel to ensure that overseas staff levels are commensurate with program growth. Any prospective adjustments in personnel levels required by federal budget reductions should not be made in the Agency's field operations—either from American officers or foreign national employees, a valued source of continuity and professionalism.

In addition, certain administrative elements in USIA have not kept pace with recent program growth. There is chronic understaffing in offices that collect debts, audit grants, process travel vouchers, and pay USIA's bills. Shortage of personnel in these areas can cost the Agency in unnecessary expenses, loss of revenue, penalties on late payments, and low staff morale.

U.S. Information Agency: U.S. and Overseas Staff Levels, 1975 and 1985

	FY 1975	FY 1985
U.S. Staff	3,333	4,382
Voice of America	*1,354*	*2,282*
American Staff Overseas	1,106	1,083
Voice of America	*109*	*130*
Foreign National Staff	4,865	3,891
Voice of America	*800*	*683*

Foreign national employees from USIA's overseas posts participate in an administrative training course in Washington.

Congressional Grant Controls

■ **The Commission recommends termination of the requirement that Congress be notified 15 days before USIA may award proposed program grants.**

Since 1983, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee have required through USIA's authorizing legislation that they be notified 15 days before the Agency may award any program grant. The Commission repeatedly has opposed this legislative micro-management as unnecessary and administratively burdensome.

The Commission believes strongly in Congressional oversight of USIA's programs, but not through what has become in effect a "legislative veto" exercised by a handful of Committee staffers and one or two Committee members. Congress has ample opportunity to assure that USIA's activities are consonant with its legislative mandate through the budget process and other legitimate review procedures. Moreover, USIA has worked with Congress to develop grant guidelines and an internal program grant approval system that is working well.

The Commission again recommends that the 15-day notification requirement be terminated. Meanwhile, as an alternative the Commission recommends that the Chairmen and ranking minority members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees reach an understanding with the Agency that grants will be awarded without delay unless questioned by a majority of the members of the Committee.

American Participant Jack Glatzer conducts a violin workshop at the New Delhi School of Music.

Telecommunications Planning

■ The Commission recommends that USIA establish a central planning body within the Agency to coordinate policy, technical, and resource decisions relating to its information and telecommunications systems.

USIA's entry into the satellite and computer age is leading the Agency to make a variety of disparate long-term decisions on the selection of information and telecommunication systems suitable to its worldwide needs.

A partial list of ongoing studies and initiatives includes: alternatives for Agency domestic and overseas telecommunications; Voice of America satellite relays; electronic Wireless File links with USIA posts and foreign news organizations; technical and policy decisions for overseas audience Distribution and Records Systems (DRS); electronic mail links with the White House and other agencies in and out of government; WORLDNET television satellite broadcasting; library database automation and expansion; enhancement of country plan and program information systems; improvements of U.S. and post data processing systems for records and property management; conversion to a new headquarters mainframe computer; security needs for automatic data and word processing; and long-range technology planning.

Each has its own rationale, and the Commission welcomes the long overdue modernization of USIA's information and telecommunication systems. But many key decisions on the projects now underway are being made separately by different Agency elements. Nowhere does it all come together for planning purposes.

Major decisions involving potentially expensive communications technology should not be made piecemeal. The Commission believes a central telecommunications planning body within the Agency would reduce costs, avoid duplication, establish Agency-wide priorities, and ensure greater compatibility between separate systems.

The Agency should know best how to organize such a body. The Commission recommends that it be done.

USIA's television control room provides technical production and special effects capabilities. It is also the communications center for live WORLDNET broadcasts.

For additional information, please write:

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